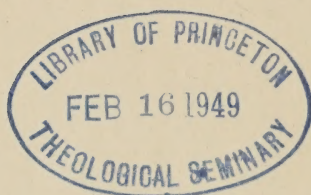
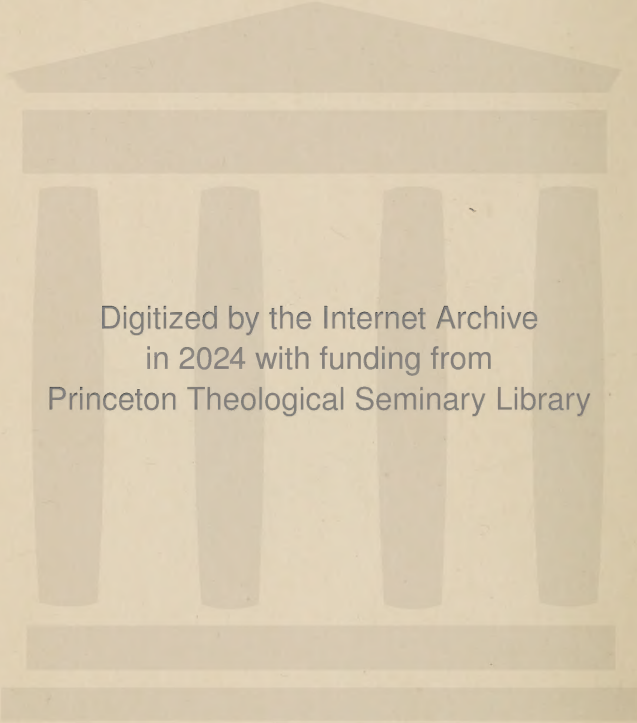


**RELATIONS BETWEEN
NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN BAPTISTS**

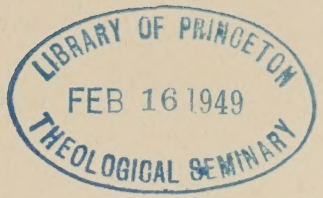


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RELATIONS BETWEEN
NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN BAPTISTS

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Dedicated to
WILLIAM WRIGHT BARNES,
my friend and teacher.

PREFACE

This study of American Baptist polity and history deals specifically with relations between Northern and Southern Baptists. The major portion of it was submitted as a doctoral thesis to Yale University in June, 1947.

A great deal of source material for this study is available. For the convenience of the student a critical bibliographical description of the works used is included. Due to the fact that so little has been published in the area of this study, no descriptive vocabulary has been developed. Such terms as connectionalism, territorial unity, territorial integrity, corporate or denominational consciousness, convention ideology, society idea, etc. are an attempt to provide that vocabulary.

The charts showing the work of the Society were culled from the annual reports. Every effort was made to be accurate in compiling these figures, but experience has shown that in this area also the hand is quicker than the eye. Jonathan Going, the first Corresponding Secretary of the Society, remarked in 1842 that in some cases "very few accurate statements could be obtained" about what was being done on the field.¹ Perhaps that is why the figures do not always harmonize in the annual reports. In the total resume of educational work, in particular, the reports occasionally will show a total that does not always coincide exactly with the aggregate of the detailed reports made by the various institutions. Such small variations are readily understandable. No effort has been made to harmonize these small differences in the charts: the material was reproduced as it appears in the records of the Society. Occasionally, also, an annual report will show a certain figure

for receipts, while a subsequent report will show a larger figure for the same year. This was true in the records of both the Society and the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. Doubtless the increase came through additional money received after the report had been made; it is sometimes puzzling, however, to know which figures to use in a summary. For this type of study such resumes of work and finances are of value only for the purpose of comparison, and these slight differences one way or another have no relation to the conclusions reached.

My sincere thanks are due Professors William Wright Barnes of Fort Worth, Texas, and Kenneth S. Latourette of New Haven, Connecticut; to the library staffs of the Yale Divinity School, the Sterling Library of Yale University, the New York City Public Library, and the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth; to Public Relations Secretary R. Dean Goodwin and his staff at the American Baptist Home Mission Society, New York City, and Secretary C. W. Pope of the Tennessee Baptist Convention, Nashville, Tennessee. Thanks are also due my secretary, Grace Bishop, for her assistance, and to the graduate students in two of my seminars who in independent research verified some of my findings.

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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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For a complete understanding of the relations between Northern and Southern Baptists it is necessary to uncover the top soil and lay bare the roots of the early Baptist movements in America. To that end a picture of the beginnings of Baptist principles and organizational relations in America will be sketched. This will be followed by a rapid survey of the principal secular components that environed and in a real sense conditioned Baptist co-operative efforts.

The earliest Baptist movements in America may be grouped into three distinct areas: the northeastern (New England), the central (Pennsylvania and Jersey), and the southern (South Carolina). It will be noted later that the political, social, and religious factors in each of these distinct areas left their impress upon the thinking of the Baptist groups in that section.

American Baptist activity had its genesis in New England. By 1800 Boston had become the hub of a great circle of Baptist infiltration, the periphery of which included the colonies of Providence, Newport, Swansea, Martha's Vineyard, and Kittery, Maine. Baptist growth is identified with names of Roger Williams at Providence Plantations, Dr. John Clarke at Newport, Henry Dunster at Boston and Plymouth, John Myles at Swansea, and Thomas Gould at Boston.

Baptist beginnings in the central area of colonies (Pennsylvania and Jersey) were related to the invitation of William Penn for immigrants to come to his new colony. Welsh, Irish, and English Baptists began forming churches in Pennsylvania by the closing quarter of the seventeenth century. During this

period Baptists also organized churches in Jersey at Piscataway, Middletown, Cohansey, and elsewhere. These churches were formed mainly from immigrants rather than from new converts. A church of Welsh Baptists moved as a unit into the central section in the opening years of the eighteenth century, but because they differed from their Baptist neighbors in the doctrine of laying on hands, they soon moved to what is now Delaware.

The third geographical area into which Baptists immigrated was South Carolina. These Baptists came from various places. One group sought relief from persecution in Maine, and led by William Screven of Kittery, they sailed to Charleston, South Carolina, in either 1683 or 1684. They found that English dissenters had already landed in that area under the leadership of William Sayle and Humphrey Blake. At about the time Screven and his party arrived, Huguenots from France began coming in large numbers, fleeing their homes because of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. A substantial colony containing English Baptists emigrated to Charleston, also, under Lord Cardross. From these diverse elements William Screven fashioned a Baptist church in a state that had been an Anglican commonwealth.

Organized connectional or denominational life among American Baptist developed quite slowly. This would be expected in the case of churches which emphasized their own independency. Two distinct types of general organization developed among American Baptists: the associational method and the society method.

The first chronologically was the associational movement, which had no rival for almost a century. The initial organization in America was the Philadelphia Association. In about 1688 Elias Keach was called

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as pastor of the Pennepek church in Pennsylvania. He had just come from England and was familiar with ecclesiastical developments there. English Baptists had already organized into associations. The vigorous missionary activity of Keach in the large area surrounding the Pennepek church resulted in the organization of other Baptist churches and the creation of a spirit of fellowship. Keach encouraged the annual gathering of a number of churches at Pennepek for the purpose of observing the Lord's Supper, for fellowship, and for preaching. Quarterly meetings for these purposes began to be held in rotation at Burlington, Cohansey, Chester, and Philadelphia. Although Keach returned to England in 1692, the logical result of his activity was the formation of the Philadelphia Baptist Association in 1707. Prior to this date the annual gatherings had been simply mass meetings, but following this formal organization the churches began to send representatives.¹

The early history of this association reveals the extreme sensitiveness of Baptists toward connectionalism and authoritarianism. Within this organized association, there was no suggestion for forty years of any sort of authority on the part of the Association.² Furthermore, no other Baptist association of churches appeared in America for forty-four years, and when others did appear, there was a considerable amount of aloofness by churches in the areas where they were organized. Apart from fellowship and inspiration, the principal function of the Philadelphia Association for four decades consisted of giving advice on doctrinal questions sent in by the churches.

Two developments occurred almost simultaneously, however, that presaged a new pattern of associational activity. In 1749 an essay was prepared and unanimously passed by the vote of the Philadel-

phia Association, which made it plain "what power an Association of churches hath, and what duty is incumbent on an Association" The essay denied that an association was a judicature with superior power over its churches, but suggested that all Baptist churches should voluntarily "enter into an agreement and confederation . . . for their mutual strength, counsel, and other valuable advantages" It asserted that "an Association of the delegates of associates have a very considerable power in their hands, respecting those churches in their confederation" This power is defined as the right of withdrawing fellowship from any church or any disorderly person that might be at variance in doctrine or practice, and of advertising such exclusion so that all associated churches might also withdraw fellowship. Appealing to Acts 15, a further definition of the authority of the association claimed the right (1) to disown erroneous teachers; (2) to send delegated persons to support the sentence of the Association; (3) to deliver these decrees to other churches. It is interesting to notice that Cyprian's view of the unity of all churches was cited as following scriptural teachings, and the action of a Baptist association in England in withdrawing from a "certain disorderly church in London" was mentioned. In addition, the association might act as judge of the doctrines of any person or party in one of the associating churches and advise the church to whom such party belonged how to deal with the situation; and furthermore, it could send able men "to help the church in executing the power vested in her by the ordinance of Jesus Christ"^s

The second significant development came in 1755 when the Philadelphia Association began the systematic prosecution of local missions within the area

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covered by its own body. Why the Association turned to mission work of this kind is a detail that the records do not discuss.⁴ In 1766 a permanent fund was established for local missions.⁵ By 1771 the Philadelphia Association was looking to mission needs beyond its own borders and appointed an "evangelist at large," who reported in the following year that he had visited churches "to the southward."⁶ This ministry (under two successive evangelists) continued until the American Revolution. Thereafter, no full time general missionary was maintained, but occasional help was supplied by the Association to meet specific needs.⁷

Meanwhile other associations were being formed. In 1751 the Charleston Association was organized in South Carolina. This body employed a missionary for one year to take the gospel into the adjacent territory. Although the Association did not employ a missionary beyond this one year, it continued to express its interest in domestic mission, and only a combination of deterring factors prevented the continuance of this program. In 1758 the Sandy Creek Association of North Carolina was organized and sent its ministers into the surrounding area with the gospel. In 1767 the first New England body, the Warren Association of Rhode Island, was formed, and this group actively supported local missions.

The principal example of organized associational domestic missions is to be found in the activity of the Shaftsbury Association of Vermont, which was organized in 1780. In 1802 a plan was adopted providing for an effective domestic mission program. A committee was appointed to handle mission contributions, examine the candidates, recommend the time and place of appointments, and pay salaries to the missionaries.⁸ Two years later a more direct effort

for securing missionary contributions was adopted. Other associations also began similar programs, and it appeared that domestic missions were firmly entrenched in the hands of a *denominational* organization which was based immediately upon Baptist churches.

In 1802, with the organization of the Massachusetts Domestic Missionary Society, a rival to the associational method of connectionalism appeared. The differences between the *associational* and the *society* methods may be clearly drawn. The former grew out of a distinctly denominational consciousness. A denominational body already in existence simply took up another aspect of denominational life. It has already been pointed out that the matter of conducting domestic missionary operations lagged far behind the denominational aspect of the first associational organization. Matters of doctrine, discipline, and even education had received precedence chronologically. The associational method was, in other words, a denominational program based upon the participation of *churches* in a formal connection. A different emphasis and a completely new set of connectional ideas may be seen in the organization of the missionary society, or, as it may be called, the society method of conducting missions. Instead of having missions as a secondary interest, the missionary society was organized *solely* for missionary purposes; and instead of a constituency composed of churches in a formal connection, the missionary society was based upon *individuals* whoses participation was completely voluntary. Instead of having ecclesiastical significance (such as would be apparent in a formal connectionalism based upon official church representation), the society method renounced any relationship to organized churches as far as representation was concerned. Why was the

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society method of conducting missions introduced when the associations, particularly in Pennsylvania and the Carolinas, had already begun a domestic mission program? Undoubtedly American Baptists were greatly influenced by the example of English and continental missionary societies. About ten years before the organization of the first American Baptist society, William Carey and the English Baptist Missionary Society had begun their epochal program.⁹ Other American denominations had already adopted the society method of conducting missions.¹⁰ The eagerness with which American Baptists seized upon this new mode of activity is best explained by their extreme sensitiveness toward the development of ecclesiastical bodies that might usurp the autonomy of the local churches.¹¹ The fear of centralization was in the minds of many as they saw the associations, based immediately upon the churches in an ecclesiastical connectionalism, begin to increase in activity and authority. The formation of a missionary *society* by-passed this problem completely. A missionary society was composed only of individuals who had no sense of ecclesiastical relations with the churches; it embraced only those who were positively missionary and eliminated the half-hearted or anti-mission group; and those interested in missions could join enthusiastically into the society program knowing that ecclesiastical centralization was not being forwarded.

It has already been mentioned that the first distinctively Baptist society was formed in the same year that the associations effected a vigorous and effective program for domestic mission work. Before the appearance of this society, Baptist had co-operated with similar societies begun by other denominations.¹² Although late in entering the field, the missionary society idea spread rapidly among Baptists. In a

little more than ten years it is estimated that at least sixty-five societies had been organized north of Philadelphia to raise money for missions, domestic and foreign.¹³

Before 1814, then, there were two streams of thought concerning connectionalism. One looked toward a denominational body based upon churches; the other emphasized a society entirely separate from the churches and consisting solely of individuals interested in missions.¹⁴ The "collision of these two currents" of thought produced a "revolution" in Baptist organizational life.¹⁵

There had been many efforts by Baptists in America before 1800 to secure some type of general organization embracing the entire country. Various associations and leading Baptists had put forth plans looking in this direction, without success. The dynamic to insure such a general organization was introduced in 1813. Baptists had refused to enter into a general organization simply for the sake of organization; but when the driving force of missions demanded a general organization, the decisive step was taken. The familiar story of Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice needs only to be sketched. Judson and his wife were converted to Baptist views while enroute to India as missionaries for another denomination; Rice arrived in India and became convinced that Judson had done well, so he, too, became a Baptist. Rice returned to America in September, 1813, with a plea that the Baptists provide some means of support for their new foreign missionaries. Boston Baptists made temporary provision for meeting the needs of the Judsons, and arrangements were made for Rice to appeal to all American Baptists. It was this appeal that provided the stimulus to overcome inertia and Baptist sensitiveness toward connection-

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alism. As the thirty-three delegates of a general convention met in Philadelphia on May 18, 1814, the two divergent types of thought concerning the proper *method* of organization met in direct conflict. A compromise resulted. The new organization had elements of both views. Two things suggested the influence of the associational stream of thought. The organization was given a denominational name — the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States For Foreign Missions. The constituency included only Baptist organizations — societies, churches, and other groups, but no individuals.¹⁶ On the other hand, the title of the organization also suggested the society idea, for it limited consideration to foreign missions only. In addition, membership was fixed upon a modified money basis, thus reproducing to some extent the *modus operandi* of the society plan of operations, rather than the associational idea which permitted *all* churches so minded to associate themselves together regardless of financial contributions.

The address to the public prepared by a committee of this convention touched upon the possibility of the future consideration of matters other than foreign missions. The closing paragraph promised that when sufficient interest and contributions made it advisable, other general benevolences would be attempted.¹⁷ In 1817, representing the increasing influence of this trend toward a general denominational organization and away from the society idea, steps were taken by the General Convention to foster education and home missions. It appeared that the associational or denominational emphasis in Baptist connectionalism would triumph. A reaction against this tendency followed quickly, however. At the triennial meeting of 1820 the convention eliminated both education and

home missions from its deliberations, and chose to limit itself solely to foreign missions. From 1820 to 1832 the battle between the two types of thought relative to connectionalism continued. By 1832 it was clear that the society method had emerged as the victor. No clearer illustration of this shift toward the society method may be found than the change which took place in the thinking of President Francis Wayland of Brown University, the most influential leader of Baptists in the North from 1832 to 1855. In 1823 and 1824, writing under the pseudonym "Backus," Wayland vigorously advocated the associational type of general Baptist organization, although admitting that at this point he distrusted himself.¹⁸ In 1856 he wrote an interpretation of Baptist life which revealed that before 1832 he had completely reversed this position. The General Convention of 1814, he said, did not represent churches as such, but represented *contributors* to foreign missions, whether individuals, mission societies, churches, associations, or state conventions. He then made a striking statement:

An attempt was made, pretty early in the history of this organization, to give it the control over all our benevolent efforts. It was proposed to merge in it our Education Societies, Tract Societies, Home Mission Societies, and our Foreign Mission Societies, so that one central Board should have the management of all our churches, so far as their efforts to extend the kingdom of Christ were concerned. After a protracted debate, this measure was negatived by so decided a majority that the attempt was never repeated, and this danger was averted. We look back, at the present day, with astonishment that

such an idea was ever entertained.¹⁹

Decentralization became the order of the day. The Tract Society was organized in 1824 as a *society* (as the name shows) and had no connection with the General Convention. Education and home missions were removed from the consideration of the General Convention. In 1832, after a final debate by those favoring a *denominational* organization based upon churches, the centralizing tendency was "negatived," and the American Baptist Home Mission Society was organized to complete the victory of the society idea.

Equally as significant as the religious antecedents of the American Baptist Home Mission Society were the secular factors which formed the environment of the new organization. This Society was established in the midst of historical forces which both gave impetus to its rise and constituted the elements causing its partial disintegration. At least four of these forces in secular life were related so immediately to the founding and development of the Society that they constitute a legitimate part of its history. These forces were the developing sectionalism in American life, the assertion of state sovereignty against the demands of a growing nationalism, the issue of slavery, and the settlement of the West.

Sectionalism in America is a phenomenon that has been exhaustively studied by various writers, especially Frederick Jackson Turner. Sectionalism may be simply defined as the advocacy of a particular interest in any sphere by a local or widespread community. It can occur within the comparatively small area of a state when the interests of one section of that state conflict with those of another section.²⁰ It may be seen operating in areas covering more than one state when some common interest acts as a nucleus.

Sectionalism has played a great part in American history.²¹ It cropped out unmistakably in the Constitutional Convention, for example, when Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania asserted the sectional interests of the Atlantic states. He wanted to arrange the ratio of representation so that the number of representatives from the Atlantic states would always be larger than the number from the Western states.²² This proposition was defended by Massachusetts, Connecticut, Delaware, and Maryland. Pennsylvania was divided, and the Southern states with New Jersey defeated the plan. The "West" also gave evidence in the same year of loyalty to its own interests. Spain held the Mississippi River, the highway of western exports, while the mountains separated the farmers from the eastern ports. The older and newer communities faced in opposite directions—the one toward the Atlantic and the other toward the Mississippi. As they pulled against each other, it seemed as if the new nation would separate along the mountains. Americans facing toward the Mississippi contemplated secession and hoped to secure an alliance, perhaps with France, that would free the Mississippi River from the power of Spain.²³ The Louisiana Purchase brought deliverance to the West, but it "so embittered the strife" between Southern Republicans and New England Federalists that many of the latter began to talk of secession from the Union.²⁴

This talk of secession during a very early period of the nation's history suggests the fact that one component of sectionalism was the doctrine of state sovereignty.²⁵ From the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions at the close of the eighteenth century until the war of 1861, there were two conflicting interpretations of the American Constitution.²⁶ One interpretation viewed the Constitution as a compact between inde-

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pendent and sovereign states, each of which had the right to interject itself between the people of its commonwealth and the national government if the latter overstepped its delegated authority. The other interpretation saw the Constitution as an instrument which delegated to the national government immediate powers over the people of the nation, and the provisions of the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, as being beyond appeal.

It is inaccurate to identify either view with one section of the nation before 1840. Charles Francis Adams summed up an extensive study of the matter with the assertion that until between 1830 and 1840 it was almost universally believed that sovereignty rested in the State.²⁷ Sectional sensitiveness, buttressed by the aggressive claims of state sovereignty, characterized the American scene during the first half of the nineteenth century. The interpretation of any movement set down in this climate of opinion (such as the religious movement among Baptists represented by the American Baptist Home Mission Society) must consider this cumulative tension between the sections that magnified beyond all recognition any issue that might involve the actual or supposed interests of any part of the nation.

The history of the period from the adoption of the Constitution to the middle of the nineteenth century is replete with examples of this active sectional sensitiveness. It was displayed by New England in the Hartford Convention;²⁸ by Georgia in the case of the Creek and Cherokee Indians;²⁹ by South Carolina in the nullification action of 1832;³⁰ and by many northern and southern states in the acrimonious debates over the annexation of Texas.³¹ Each section interpreted the Constitution in a way that would favor its own interests. The document itself left the matter

of ultimate sovereignty in so much uncertainty that the conflicting views could only be harmonized by historical developments.³²

After about 1840, however, the view that the state held final sovereignty became wholly identified with the South. There were three reasons for this. The first is succinctly set out by Woodrow Wilson: the South had stood still upon the basis of her old principles, while the rest of the country had undergone fundamental changes.³³ Furthermore, the "national drift" in the North had enabled that section to construct her thinking in terms of national sovereignty and maintain her interests by political sagacity. And finally, under no circumstances should there be lost the significance of the occasion that brought strife. The institution of slavery was a bewilderingly complex force. It touched almost every area of life at points that were sensitive. Confined as it was to the South, and constituting the basis of the economic and social civilization of that area, slavery provided a continuous deterrent to the infiltrating of the "national drift."

Slavery was the greatest sectional issue ever to confront the American nation.³⁴ It brought into focus all the elements of constitutional interpretation and self-interest that had motivated previous instances of sectionalism. The assertion of the constitutional argument for state sovereignty subsequently brought what seems to have been the final testing of that principle through actual conflict.

An attempt to summarize in brief compass the historical background of slavery brings the danger of over-simplification of a quite complex subject.³⁵ In general, three chronological aspects of slavery may be observed.

The first occurs prior to about 1830 and could be

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called the economic or traditional viewpoint. Slavery was conceived as simply a part of the economic society inherited from the past. This does not mean that there were no protests against the system during this early period. Protests came from both the North and the South during the Revolutionary War period, and both sections were represented in the anti-slavery societies formed at that time.³⁶ U. B. Phillips judged that by 1790 the feeling was general that a highly civilized self-governing society would offer a profound problem to negro slaves who would be forced to assume the responsibilities of citizenship, and yet it would be unwise and unprofitable to deport them.³⁷ The San Domingo rebellion of 1792 brought to the fore again the fears of Southern whites that a similar episode might occur in their midst, and the institution of slavery became a medium for policing the slaves. The fears of the whites were heightened by the discovery of the Vesey conspiracy of 1822, which, as a predicate to the intense abolitionism of the next decade, did much to cause Southern bitterness, since Southern whites felt that their very lives were endangered. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793, meanwhile, seemed to offer the prospects of a profitable staple crop, thus making the use of unskilled negro labor vastly more desirable. The cotton gin was a death blow to crop diversification in the South and foisted an economic system that readily used slave labor. By reason, thus, of what amounted to a climatic and geographic determinism, the North found that it had little use for slavery, while the system became commonplace to the people of the South.³⁸ In general, the political aspect of slavery was not agitated during this period, although individuals gave voice to occasional protests.³⁹

The second aspect of slavery is indicated by a

definite change in attitude toward the system. This change came not later than 1830 and continued until about 1840.⁴⁰ The new outlook was one which, from the viewpoint of the North, might be termed humanitarian, and was characterized by the intense activity of the abolitionists. There had been abolition movements prior to 1830, of course,⁴¹ but the confluence of many factors in the fourth and fifth decades of the century greatly increased the effectiveness and number of abolitionists. In turn, the South became increasingly sensitive to the attacks of the abolitionists, particularly to those of William Lloyd Garrison, whose newspaper, although small in circulation, was widely copied.

A. B. Hart recognized four schools of abolitionists. The first was that of Garrison; the second was the New England "non-Garrison" school, headed by men like Channing; the third was the middle states group of Arthur and Lewis Tappan; the fourth was the western group that claimed Theodore F. Weld as its leader.⁴² A recent study by Gilbert H. Barnes puts a great deal of new light upon the activity of Weld, who is portrayed as the principal figure not only in the West but in the East also.

Using new material, Barnes alters to a considerable degree the traditional picture of abolitionism. Instead of centering in the work of Garrison, the movement found its strength elsewhere (particularly in the West), and Garrison's vituperative blasts on the theme of immediatism in abolition were more harmful to the general cause than of value. The entry of Garrison into the abolitionist movement may be roughly put at January 1, 1831, when he began his newspaper *The Liberator*. Barnes pictures Garrison as copying his attitudes and approaches from England, after having made a trip to that

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country in 1833 under discreditable circumstances. Upon returning to America, Garrison cast aside the judgment of abolitionist leaders, and with only sixty others he organized a national anti-slavery society.⁴³ Because the immediacy doctrine of Garrison was hurting the entire movement, an attempt was made in 1834 to organize the American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race, which advocated a conciliatory spirit toward the South and hoped to secure the peaceful abolition of slavery by appealing to the human and Christian principles of the slave owners.⁴⁴ The new organization did not secure general support and soon died.

Garrison's immediacy doctrine and general leadership were greatly hurt by three developments between 1836 and 1840. The first of these was the estrangement of New England Congregationalism. Garrison became an objector to many things that New England Congregationalists prized. He attacked the churches, the American Constitution, the American Union, and even civil government. This ideological conflict broke forth in 1836 when Lyman Beecher turned against abolitionism and revivalism, and with him went most of the Congregationalists. The work of abolitionism in New England thereafter was carried on principally by the Methodists and the Baptists.⁴⁵ The second factor that greatly militated against Garrison's movement was the abolitionist plan put forth by John Quincy Adams in 1839. Adams had been almost the sole champion of the abolitionists in Congress. He now proposed a limitation on slavery and its gradual elimination by constitutional amendment. He broke completely with Garrison's idea of immediatism and published the view that such a method would not

work. The third disruptive factor soon followed. In 1839 the conflict between Garrison and his abolitionist opponents became the issue in the meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York City. In a move to discredit Garrison, an effort was made to forbid women to be enrolled as members of the Society—a matter upon which Garrison had decided convictions.⁴⁶ Garrison was victor by a vote of 560 to 450 only because he imported a boat full of supporters from Boston. As a result the anti-Garrison group withdrew and formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, but it soon withered away. After 1840 the influence of Garrison dwindled rapidly, as a result (according to A. B. Hart) of his own vitrolic nature, his liberal attitude relative to the efforts of women in the work, his religious evolution,⁴⁷ his complete pacifism, and his hostility to political action as a means of accomplishing abolition.⁴⁸

Gilbert H. Barnes magnifies the abolitionist leadership of Theodore D. Weld and traces the humanitarian impulse of abolitionism to the religious revival of Charles G. Finney.⁴⁹ Weld was one of Finney's converts and the unpublicized head of much of the later abolitionist effort. Under his hand the new Lane Seminary at Cincinnati, Ohio, became strongly abolitionist. When President Lyman Beecher began carrying out the instructions of the trustees to put down this movement, practically the entire student body withdrew and in 1835 entered the new seminary at Oberlin.

Weld termed himself a disciple of "moderate immediatism". It will be recalled that Garrison was insistent upon immediatism—the immediate emancipation of the slaves, without reference to their back-

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ward condition and to the enormous social, economic, and political problems that would arise. It is probable that most of the leaders other than Garrison would have been satisfied with some sort of gradual emancipation.⁵⁰ Weld took the theme "immediate abolition, gradually accomplished." This rather enigmatic formula was defined more explicitly in a meeting at Zanesville, Ohio, and was identified as the "New York doctrine". This did not mean, Weld said, that the slaves should be turned loose, but that by legal means they would be gradually brought into full citizenship after a period of development.⁵¹

One of the plans of Weld was to flood the South with pamphlets urging his program of gradualism. This movement collapsed when the New York postmaster refused to forward anti-slavery mail to the South. In 1836 and 1837 Weld encouraged the presentation of anti-slavery petitions to Congress. John Quincy Adams was boldly holding the floor of the House for his anti-slavery comments, despite the "gag-rules" that forbade it, and he made telling use of these petitions. This phase of abolitionist activity was in reality the vanguard of the political aspect. The petitions included objections to the annexation of Texas as a slave state and support for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

After laboring from Ohio to western New York with phenomenal success, Weld lost the use of his voice, but he began using his pen with great effectiveness. His writings were widely used for abolitionist lectures and debates. His chief work, however, was never published. He had planned "what was to have been his greatest work, an examination of the North's share in sustaining slavery." He was convinced that slavery was maintained by the politi-

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cal, financial, and commercial power of the North.⁵³ Weld moved to Washington in order to aid in lobbying for anti-slavery legislation, marking the turning point from the humanitarian to the distinctly political phase of the movement. Barnes dates this new phase as beginning about 1842.

The final chronological aspect of slavery and abolitionism was political. When the abolitionists included in their petitions of 1837 a protest against the annexation of Texas on the grounds of slavery, there came a coalescence between their interests and the sectional interests of the political leaders of New England.⁵³ The proposed annexation of Texas served to epitomize the chief political problem confronting the nation: the question of how to exercise political control of new territory being acquired through westward expansion. The principle of slavery, apart from its political ramifications, was not explosive. As Marcus Lee Hansen has pointed out, a free North and a slave-holding South might have worked out a harmonious program, but in the West the settlers from the two sections entered into controversy, and the question of extending the political aspect of slavery into the territories brought conflict.⁵⁴ It was the working out of the manifest destiny of the nation in westward expansion that magnified the political aspect of slavery into gigantic proportions. The flood of western immigration did not subside, but kept on, swelling and expanding.⁵⁵ The center of slavery left the southeastern states and moved to the south central states as Southerners pressed westward.⁵⁶ Slavery entered the south central section (Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas) so rapidly that this area, which in 1830 had been a part of the

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pioneer West, became in twenty years the repository of over half the slaveholders of the entire Union.⁵⁷ Southern settlers were ranging as far north as Ohio and Illinois.⁵⁸ Now New Englanders felt that their prediction of 1814 might be reversed. They had then thought that the West would overpower the South after coming into political strength; now it seemed that the South, through her "peculiar institution" that was being so widely introduced into the western territories, would become the dominant political force, trampling upon the rights of the Northeast, ruining the protective tariff, hurting the shipping business, and imperiling the Union.⁵⁹

The political phase, then, was the principal aspect of the slavery and abolitionist agitation after about 1840.⁶⁰ This phase was necessary before there could have been a conflict. If geographic and climatic factors had combined to sprinkle the institution of slavery throughout both North and South in such a way as to neutralize the political effect of its spread into the territories, the abolition of slavery might have been effected, not by conflict, but by the better method of enlightened conscience and co-operative action, just as in the case of many other evils common in this land. When slavery was confined to a particular section of the country and threatened to spread into new territories, the question attained political preponderance enough to topple rival sections into conflict.⁶¹

CHAPTER II

BEGINNING THE HOME MISSION TASK



In the midst of these tremendous movements the American Baptist Home Mission Society came into being. The character of the period helped to give impetus and direction to the new organization. The great expansion westward burdened the hearts of missionary-minded Baptists about the religious condition of the great masses in the new country; at the same time, the divisive factors growing out of sectional interests, primarily manifested in the slavery issue, led to the separation of two areas that had constituted the Society.

Prior to 1832 (when the Baptist Home Mission Society was founded) the home mission program of Baptists had been carried on in various ways. At first, the work of individuals was the chief means of forwarding domestic missions. Men like John Clarke and Obadiah Holmes in an early period and Isaac Backus, William Fristoe, and Abel Hosmer in a later time, epitomize the warm-hearted preachers who felt the obligation of reaching out beyond their local communities with the message of the gospel. Many aspects of the modern home mission program in outlying communities are carried on in this same fashion. The organization of associations and the formation of missionary societies provided other channels for domestic missions on a co-operative basis. It has been noted that the society method was chosen as a model for national Baptist organizations, rather than the utilization of a distinctly

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denominational organization after the pattern of the association.

The founding of the American Baptist Home Mission Society centered in the leadership of John M. Peck and Jonathan Going.¹ Following a visit by the latter to the West early in 1831, the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society in its November meeting adopted a resolution urging the formation of a general society for domestic missions. Specifically mentioned were the needs of the Mississippi valley. After a committee consisting of Daniel Sharp, Lucius Bolles, and Jonathan Going had conferred with various state mission groups, a Provisional Committee was formed. They issued a circular announcing an organizational meeting and inviting all those who were interested in home missions to meet on April 27, 1832, for the purpose of "giving to the Society a formal organization."² The date of the organizational meeting coincided with the date of the regular triennial meeting of the General Convention for foreign missions, so that those interested might be able to attend both meetings on one trip. The representation at this initial meeting was gratifying. Fourteen out of the twenty-three states and one of the five territories were represented.

Careful consideration was given to the type of organization to be adopted. Two distinct plans were debated. The first contemplated "an independent society" with officers separate from the General Convention (for foreign missions) and with headquarters at New York City. The second plan proposed that the General Convention be changed from a foreign mission society into a general denominational body with power to appoint a board for for-

eign missions and one for home missions, "each with their Treasurers and Secretaries, the first to be located at Boston, and the last in this city."³ The first plan (the *society* method) prevailed, and the constitution provided for the organization of a separate society for domestic missions. The idea of converting the General Convention into a general denominational body was rejected.⁴

It is significant for the future of this society that in the initial list of directors there were two men who became active leaders of Baptist abolitionism—Elon Galusha and Duncan Dunbar, both of New York. At the very time of this organizational meeting in America, Baptists in England were pressing the claims of abolitionism. The following year, with emancipation accomplished in England, these Baptists began to agitate abolitionism in America through correspondence with Baptist leaders. But in these early meetings of the American Baptist Home Mission Society there is no hint that slavery or abolitionism would ever become a divisive issue. Galusha offered a resolution in the first annual meeting, which asserted that "the successful operation of the Society involves the vital interests of the denomination, and should secure its general co-operation."⁵

The original plan of the Society called for it to function both as a central agency for receiving and publishing information on the needs and progress of domestic missions, and as an active agency to receive contributions and appoint missionaries to destitute places. Articles VII, VIII, and IX of its constitution provided for an auxiliary system by which any Baptist society, whether state, district, or local, composed of males or females, either all or part of a church, might align itself formally

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with the Society by agreeing to pay to the treasury of the Society all of its surplus funds and to report its work to the Society.

During the period from 1832 to 1845 (which marks both the period of co-operation of North and South and of the continuance of this auxiliary system), the relations of the various auxiliaries fell into three general classes. One class preferred to carry on its own mission program and to send no financial aid to the Society. The Society asked this group to co-operate by simply reporting whatever mission work was done.⁶ A second class desired to do a certain amount of local mission work and to help the Society in addition. The Society asked this group to "sacredly transmit" any money that was left after the local task was completed.⁷ The third and most desirable class, from the viewpoint of the Society, consisted of those who agreed to pay all of their funds into the treasury of the Society. These had the privilege of designating the field of labor for the missionaries to be appointed with the funds which were contributed.⁸

During the first decade of the Society's life this auxiliary system was retained. To some degree general co-operation was secured. Practically all of the state conventions in the South were at one time or another connected with the Society in some form of auxiliary relationship.⁹ It had been hoped that this plan would provide the means of securing the co-operation of all Baptists for reaching the needy domestic fields. But the arrangement had serious defects, due partly to the effort of the Society to steer away from what might appear to be "lording it over God's heritage." As early as 1840, other plans were being sought for producing "concert of action in all the domestic missionary bodies of the

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Baptist denomination in the United States.”¹⁰ The centralizing ideas of a “much respected brother at the South” are reflected in his desire for a “coalition” so that all auxiliaries might be transformed into “one vast engine” for home missions.”¹¹ By 1844, conscious of disagreements between the Society and some of its auxiliaries relative to collections by the Society in the same territory in which the auxiliaries were making similar efforts, the Society appointed a committee to study the auxiliary arrangement. As a result the Society asserted the right to take collections as it saw fit.¹² Two years later the Society made drastic changes in the entire auxiliary system.¹³

The work of the Society in the South from 1832 until 1845 (when the Southern Baptist Convention was formed) may be seen in the following chart:¹⁴

Year	No. of states	No. of mission- aries appointed	Missionary Weeks of labor
1832	3	7	177
1833	4	14	410
1834	7	26	1011
1835	8	28	Not Shown
1836	9	24	Not Shown
1837	10	28	1041
1838	7	29	1152
1839	10	25	1139
1840	10	20	786
1841	11	26	1083
1842	12	29	1089
1843	12	21	837
1844	12	29	917
1845	10	22	754

The true index of how much was accomplished in the South is seen in the number of weeks of missionary

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labor. Quite often missionaries appointed to the Southern field would serve for a month or less. When this was true, it is evident that no accurate picture of the work done on the field could be gained by noting the number of missionaries appointed. The number of appointments is important, however, in that it shows the intention of the Society. In order to set out the *scope* of the work, this chart is amplified at five-year intervals to show the number of missionaries serving in the individual Southern states in a particular year.¹⁵

Year	State	No. of mission- aries appointed	Missionary weeks of labor
1832	Kentucky	2	78
	Mississippi	1	13
	Missouri	4	86
1837	Arkansas	5	91
	Delaware	1	52
	Florida	1	13
	Kentucky	1	52
	Maryland	2	104
	Mississippi	1	13
	Missouri	12	525
	North Carolina	1	26
	South Carolina	1	26
	Tennessee	2	69
	Virginia	2	96
1842	Arkansas	2	41
	Delaware	2	65
	District of Columbia	2	52
	Florida	1	52
	Kentucky	2	60
	Maryland	4	169
	Mississippi	2	91
	Missouri	8	312

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North Carolina	1	26
Tennessee	2	52
Texas	2	117
Virginia	1	52

It is of interest to notice that the state of Missouri was the recipient of more effort by the Society than any other of the above group. Perhaps this was due to the fact that Missouri was a border state and was one of the newest frontiers. At any rate, in the thirteen years closing with 1845, this state received a total of one hundred and twenty-one appointments of missionaries, most of whom served for one year. The total weeks of labor cannot be accurately given, since during 1834 and 1835 the records were incomplete at this point. This total number of appointments to Missouri compares with thirty-eight for Tennessee, the state next to Missouri in number of appointments. Arkansas was third with thirty-four commissions.

The Society, of course, was endeavoring to secure the greatest amount of co-operation from those interested in home missions.¹⁶ Whatever resources were provided by the auxiliaries were pro-rated according to the judgment of the Society. The distribution of the missionaries, it will be seen, was the occasion of sectional complaints, and was one factor in advancing the idea of Southern separation in 1845.¹⁷

The difficulties faced by this new Society were great. Looking primarily to its relationship with the South, there were two elements that brought considerable concern. One of these was the unorganized movement known as anti-missionism.¹⁸ Its spirit was summed up by Secretary Jonathan Going in his first annual report. It had not been unforeseen, he said, that the mission of the Society would be mis-

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understood by some whom it desired to help. Some churches and associations formally refused to fellowship those interested in missions. They "mistakenly allege that all this pretended benevolence is a mere money-getting affair . . ." and is "inconsistent with the purity and simplicity of the gospel; as human devices for accomplishing that work of God which he claims as his peculiar prerogative, and thus sacrilegiously attempting to take his work out of his hands."¹⁹ Examples of this attitude were often reported by the missionaries.²⁰

Another element of difficulty arose out of the sectional consciousness of the various part of the nation. Both what was described as the "West" and the South and Southwest poured complaints into the ears of the Society—complaints of the neglect of their section and of the fact that a mission society in the remote northeast could not understand the needs of other sections. From the most prominent Baptist of Tennessee came an appeal for Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana;²¹ from Kentucky, appeals were made for a new *western* home mission society to be formed.²² Texas added its voice, and Georgia's Jesse Mercer advocated the formation of a "southern society" to transmit funds for the "Texian mission" in the event the Society did not heed the call.²³ The editor of the *Baptist Banner* of Louisville echoed this sentiment.²⁴ In all of this agitation, there is evident effort to make it plain that no reflection is intended upon the integrity of the Society in New York. It was simply affirmed that the Society's leadership was not ubiquitous and could not be any more effective than any other group dominated by one section of the nation while trying to carry out a national task.

One of the complaints alleged that the South was furnishing more money to the Society than the

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Society was expending for missionaries in the South.²⁵ The following table of receipts from the South and expenditures for missionaries in the South covers the decade from 1832 to 1841.²⁶

State	Mission- aries	Appropriation	Receipts
Arkansas	27	2,725.00	None
Delaware	8	1,025.00	55.00
Alabama	1	\$ 37.50	\$ 450.00
Dist. of Columbia	1	50.00*	772.00
Florida	3	400.00	100.00
Georgia	0	None	6,325.00
Kentucky	8	1,675.00	228.00
Louisiana	6	865.00	37.00
Maryland	20	2,435.00	1,825.00
Mississippi	12	1,610.00	1,760.00
Missouri	96	12,180.00	248.00
North Carolina	2	600.00	4,985.00
South Carolina	3	300.00	4,930.00
Tennessee	28	3,340.00	468.00
Texas	4	2,225.00	100.00
Virginia	10	1,375.00	6,810.00

*estimated

The summary shows that in this decade there were two hundred and twenty-nine missionaries appointed in sixteen Southern states. Total appropriations were \$30,842.50 and total receipts from the South were \$29,093.00. If it is agreed that the states listed in this chart constitute the South of that period, this would mean that the South did not furnish more money to the Society in gifts than it received in expenditures for missionaries. If the view of C. B. Goodykoontz should be accepted, placing Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri in the category of *western* rather than *southern* states, it would mean that

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the thirteen southern and southwestern states gave \$28,149.00 for missions during this decade, with only \$13,646.50 being spent in their area. That, of course, might give grounds for complaint. On the other hand, the following chart shows the amount contributed by the northern states during the same period.

State	Missionaries	Appropriations	Receipts
Connecticut	1	\$ 75.00	\$ 7,520.00
Illinois	164	18,547.00	497.00
Indiana	102	11,325.00	18.00
Iowa	10	750.00	32.00
Maine	5	300.00	2,510.00
Massachusetts	0	None	15,547.00
Michigan	88	10,160.00	265.00
New Hampshire	2	150.00	2,637.00
New Jersey	4	216.00	3,625.00
New York	18	6,555.00	51,942.00
Ohio	152	17,448.00	495.00
Pennsylvania	11	1,247.00	3,699.00
Rhode Island	0	None	3,040.00
Vermont	3	415.00	1,384.00
Wisconsin	15	1,337.50	6.00

These fifteen states gave a total of \$93,217.00 to the work of the Society during this first decade, while receiving appropriations of \$68,525.50. It is not correct to say, then that, Southern contributions during this decade were applied to the evangelization of northern fields.

A related question, however, in all fairness must be asked. Apart from the financial contributions of any particular area of the country, did the Society neglect some sections that were just as needy as places where missionaries were being sent?²⁷ The last chart shows the ground for this complaint by

the South. In the four northwestern frontier states of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio, a total of five hundred and six missionaries were appointed during the decade shown, at a cost of \$57,480.00, with receipts amounting to \$1,275.00. The combined population of these states in 1840 was 2,893,783. In the six southwestern frontier states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Missouri, a total of one hundred and seventy-seven missionaries were appointed at a cost of \$22,395.00, with receipts amounting to \$2,741.00. The combined population of these states in 1840 was 2,818,276. In Louisiana, with a population in 1840 of 352,411, \$865.00 was spent for missionaries during these ten years; while in Michigan, with a population in 1840 of 212,267, \$10,160 was appropriated. In Illinois, with a population in 1840 of 476,183, one hundred and sixty-four missionaries were employed during this period at a cost of \$18,547.00; in Mississippi, with a population in 1840 of 375,651, twelve missionaries were employed at a cost of \$1,210.00.²⁸

The Society, however, was ~~not~~ wholly responsible for this condition. ~~There~~ were unusual problems ~~that impinged~~ upon work in the southern field. It was not the deliberate policy of the Society to overlook the needs of these southern and southwestern fields. In 1837 the Society published the appeal from Texas for aid.²⁹ An effort was made to answer the call. After David Orr, who was working in Arkansas, was prevented from going to Texas by reason of ill health, James Huckins was appointed in 1839. He was joined two years later by William Tryon as the Society's second missionary in Texas. The Society "diligently sought, and more than once supposed they should find others willing to encounter the privations and difficulties of that field."³⁰ The

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calls of Mississippi were noted, especially the need of men to fill the places.³¹ Kentucky was described as a place of spiritual destitution.³² Tennessee needed men more than money, although both were acceptable.³³ One report of the Society dolefully surveyed the unmet needs of Florida, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Louisiana, saying relative to the last-named that "attempts have been made by the committee to erect the standard of the gospel, but their want of success in finding a suitable man willing to go is humiliating."³⁴

It is evident from these excerpts that the question of *men* willing to go into the southern area as missionaries was one of the chief problems. The Executive Committee tried to find such men. Almost frantic efforts were made to secure a man for New Orleans, for example. The Board voted a salary of *\$100 a month* for a man to serve there.³⁵ The usual salary was about *\$100 a year* for a missionary. W. B. Johnson's offer to go to New Orleans as a missionary at a salary of \$1,000 per annum was accepted by the Society in view of the needs of that area and the qualifications of the man.³⁶ Thereafter, in a special plea for co-operation, the Board mentioned with regret that the appointments to Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi were few, "and that only a small part of them have been accepted."³⁷

It is interesting to notice that the same conditions which faced the Baptist Society constituted problems for the American Home Mission Society. C. B. Goodykoontz³⁸ shows that among the seven hundred and fifty-five missionaries listed by that Society in 1835-36, only fifteen were located in the slave states of the South and Southwest, counting Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri as western rather than southern, as follows:

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Delaware	2
Maryland	1
Virginia	3
North Carolina	1
Georgia	1
Alabama	1
Mississippi	4
Arkansas	2

On the same basis and in the same year, eleven of the ninety-six missionaries of the Baptist Society were in the South, as follows:

Delaware	0
Maryland	2
Virginia	0
North Carolina	0
Georgia	0
Alabama	0
Mississippi	2
Arkansas	5
Louisiana	2

In the case of the Baptist work, the absence of missionaries employed by the Society might be partially explained by the activity of the state mission organizations of the Baptists in principal states like Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia.

Goodykoontz accounts for the dearth of missionaries of the American Home Mission Society in the South by the fact that the appointees had personal objections to working there. They preferred not to live in the midst of negro slavery, felt they would not be welcomed by the people in the South, and feared the enervating climate. Thus, Goodykoontz concludes, although a missionary was ready

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to go anywhere, when a needy field opened in the South and at the same time missionaries were needed in a northern area like Michigan or Indiana, the volunteer missionary would choose the latter place.³⁹ These same elements apply to the Baptist mission activity. There was constant complaint from the South that most of the Society's missionaries came from the North and would not serve in the South.⁴⁰ It is true, also, that westward expansion after 1830 filled the northern valley of the Mississippi with people from the North, especially from New England.⁴¹ So, added to the negative reasons given by Goodykoontz as to why northern missionaries preferred not to go to the South, the opportunity of serving among his own people (and in some cases among his friends or relatives) would be a positive factor that might influence the missionary candidate toward northern fields.

These factors may help to explain why it was possible to secure five hundred and six missionaries to send to Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio during this early period, and why it was much more difficult to find the two hundred and twenty-nine missionaries for all of the southern states. It required more salary for missionaries serving in the South. The average appropriation per missionary in the South was \$134.68 during the first decade; the missionary in the North required an average of \$119.17. These figures do not take into account the length of time a missionary served under his commission, but over such a wide base these factors might balance one another.

This survey of the activity of the Society from 1832 to 1845 has not taken into consideration the increasing strength of the abolitionist movement within the organization, nor the growing demands by both

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the abolitionists and the Southerners that the Society define its position in an acceptable way. The following chapters will study the development of abolitionism among Baptists and the struggle of the Society to avoid this divisive issue.

CHAPTER III

BAPTIST ABOLITIONISM BEFORE 1845

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The rending of the American Baptist Home Mission Society over the slavery issue grew out of the agitation of Baptist abolitionists. From the earliest days of the anti-slavery movement Baptist preachers were among the most active of all New England abolitionists. Their efforts prior to 1845 may be grouped into four distinct phases. The first phase consists of the increasing abolitionist agitation radiating from English shores between 1833 and 1840. The second covers the development of local abolitionist sentiment and organization in the North and West. The third is seen in the organization of a national Baptist abolitionist society. The fourth is characterized by the dual struggle of the abolitionists; one group remaining within the benevolent organizations and endeavoring to separate them from any contact with slavery, and one group separating and forming a rival missionary organization for Baptist abolitionists.

The influence of English abolitionism touched all religious groups in America. G. H. Barnes felt that in the general anti-slavery movement "British precedent was the highest authority" and a "pathetic dependence" was exhibited upon British approval for this and other benevolent work.¹

English Baptists first began exerting influence among American Baptists on the question of abolitionism by means of correspondence. Rejoicing in the victory of the emancipation movement in the West Indies in 1831, Baptists in England interested themselves in forwarding the same movement in

America. On December 31, 1833, the "Board of Baptist Ministers in and near London" addressed American Baptist pastors and ministers in a lengthy treatise. Under the impression that the General Convention (a foreign mission body with headquarters in Boston) had general denominational supervision in America, the communication was sent to that body. It described the struggle for the emancipation of the colored people in Jamaica and urged various reasons for the same struggle to extirpate the American system of slavery.² After some delay a committee was appointed by the Board of the General Convention to reply to the letter, and on September 1, 1834, Corresponding Secretary Lucius Bolles wrote the London group, attaching a copy of official resolutions by the Boston Board. The gist of these resolutions was that the constitution of the General Convention precluded any discussion on this subject. The accompanying letter called attention to the political organization of the United States, which reserved to each state jurisdiction in such a matter. It reviewed the history of the introduction of slavery into the American colonies by England in spite of protests by the colonies, then sketched some of the greater difficulties faced in America than those met by England in their program. It closed with the statement that the "pleasing degree of union" now existing among American Baptists would forbid the adoption of language or measures tending to agitate this question.³

The existence of a potential conflict within Baptist circles may already be glimpsed. When this correspondence was published, C. P. Grosvenor, Baptist pastor of Salem, Massachusetts, and already an outspoken abolitionist, took prompt issue.⁴ About fifty Baptist ministers of his persuasion met at Bos-

ton on May 26 and 27, 1835, and voted their approval of another reply to the London group, which had been prepared by Grosvenor. This second reply agreed to the condemnation of slavery and pledged every moral effort to accomplish its overthrow. Before being sent the document was later signed by about one hundred and thirty other Baptist ministers.⁵

In the spring of 1835, Elders F. A. Cox and J. Hoby (the former being the chairman of the London Board of Baptist ministers which had addressed American Baptists on slavery and had taken a very active part in securing the English emancipation victory) were appointed by the Baptist Union of England to visit the churches in the United States "to promote the sacred cause of negro emancipation." They greatly disappointed American abolitionists, however, by their refusal to speak out on the slavery issue because of its "political bearings." After their return to England the Baptist Union sent a resolution to America again condemning vigorously the alliance of American churches with slavery. The accompanying letter urged action on the question.⁶ Replying for the Acting Board of the General Convention on January 7, 1837, Baron Stow expressed appreciation for the spirit and tone of the communication, but said that since "the constitution of the Board limits them to the business of Foreign Missions, they will not, under existing circumstances, intermeddle in any way with the question of slavery."⁷ This same view was stressed by S. H. Cone, president of the General Convention. B. T. Welch of Albany, New York, wrote London Baptists that "the whole country, and more especially the southern states, as certainly, groan under the pressure of their slave population, as the colored man groans under his bondage."⁸ During May and June, 1836,

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a great many strong resolutions were passed by English Baptist associations, some declining "any fraternal union" with those in America who approved slavery. These were forwarded to American newspapers and magazines for publicity.⁹ In May, 1837, the English Baptist Union again addressed American Baptists in strong words of rebuke on slavery. The reply by Baron Stow is significant since it shows a considerable development in the direction of abolitionism in official correspondence of the General Convention. He urged the English brethren to be patient with them "and not think us tardy in accomplishing an object which we, as well as they, are anxious to see immediately effected." He closed by saying, "But, my dear brother, God is on our side, and the cause will prevail."¹⁰ In 1838, again there came an avalanche of resolutions from English associations condemning slavery.¹¹ It is worthy of note that in 1839 and 1840, the English Baptist Union addressed its appeals to the Baptist abolitionists, not to the General Convention.¹²

In addition to this official relation with English Baptist abolitionists, many of the American abolitionist leaders had informal contacts with them. At the world anti-slavery convention held in London in June, 1840, for example, Nathaniel Colver, Elon Galusha, and C. P. Grosvenor were delegates from various American organizations and imbibed the spirit of English immediatism. These three men were the first principal officers of the American Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention.¹³

It is evident, therefore, that almost from the very year in which the American Baptist Home Mission Society was founded (1832), there were efforts from England to agitate the slavery question in

America, and that the leaders of American Baptist benevolent organizations recognized this as a divisive issue and tried to assume a neutral position. The strength of the incipient abolitionist movement among Baptists is suggested by the fact that in 1835 more than two-thirds of the delegates of the New England Anti-Slavery Society were either Baptist or Methodist preachers.¹⁴ Whether these Baptist preachers represented the views of their congregations cannot be known, but G. H. Barnes thinks that they did.¹⁵ The great revival of 1830-43, mentioned by Barnes as the driving force in the anti-slavery movement, included not only the preaching of Charles G. Finney and Jedidiah Burchard of the Presbyterians, but also the efforts of Baptists like Jacob Knapp, Jabez Swan, A. C. Kingsley, and Lewis Raymond.¹⁶

With the organization of a national anti-slavery Society in April, 1840, American Baptist abolitionism entered a new phase. Before that time the abolitionist work had been conducted through various state organizations. As a background for the abolitionist surge of 1844-45 that resulted in the withdrawal of Southern Baptists from the Home Mission Society (as well as from the General Convention), a brief resume will be made of anti-slavery agitation among Baptists in various Northern states before 1840.

In Maine, as in some of the other states, the earliest anti-slavery efforts looked toward support of the American Colonization Society. On November 18, 1833, however, an anti-slavery society was organized at Hallowell, Maine, which advocated the use of moral efforts to secure freedom for the slaves. Similar societies quickly appeared in other Maine towns, with Baptists having a prominent part in

the movement. A state anti-slavery society was organized on October 15, 1834, and Baptists were quite prominent in this movement. Such outstanding Baptist ministers as E. R. Warren, T. B. Robinson, J. Gilpatrick, S. Fogg, and W. R. Prescott were among the original members of this society and occupied high offices. The society met almost regularly in Baptist church buildings for its annual anniversaries.¹⁷ Rarely a year passed in the decade beginning with 1834 that Baptist associations in Maine did not offer resolutions against slavery. Some were couched in conciliatory terms,¹⁸ while others made the issue a divisive one.¹⁹ The state convention of Maine Baptists passed anti-slavery resolutions in 1835, 1836, and 1837, although some members doubted the propriety of introducing such resolutions.²⁰ By 1840, when the national Baptist anti-slavery convention was formed, over one hundred and eighty of the two hundred and fourteen Baptist ministers in Maine were recognized as decided abolitionists.²¹

New Hampshire, too, was recognized as one of the strong Baptist abolitionist states before 1840. In 1838, the New Hampshire Baptist Anti-Slavery Society was formed.²² Baron Stow, in a letter to London Baptists in 1837, remarked that in New Hampshire all but three or four of the fifty Baptist ministers were known to be abolitionists.²³ The South recognized this state, with Maine, as a center of abolitionism.²⁴

Vermont was an abolitionist hotbed.²⁵ One of the agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society was Alvan Sabin, who for forty years was pastor of the Baptist church at Georgia, Vermont, and also served for twenty-six years in the Vermont legislature.²⁶ In 1837, the Shaftsbury Baptist Association

passed strong resolutions against slavery and urged that northern Baptist churches address their southern brethren on this subject.²⁷ Resolutions condemning slavery were circulated throughout the South in 1837 by this Association.²⁸ In 1838, another similar resolution was passed, and in 1840, after some debate, a resolution was adopted which asserted that slaveholders could not be invited to the pulpits or communion tables of Vermont Baptist churches.²⁹

Despite popular association of abolitionism with Boston and Massachusetts, the movement was not too successful in the state. The general Massachusetts Abolition Society was not organized until 1839 and flourished for a comparatively short period.³⁰ Baptists were prominent among its early leadership and were complimented for their vigorous anti-slavery activity.³¹ As early as 1836 the Worcester Baptist Association had passed resolutions against slavery. In the following year Samuel L. Gould of Boston, an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, addressed the Association, and it was voted to print the same resolution that had been recorded in the previous year. C. P. Grosvenor, already well known as a Baptist abolitionist, was a member of this Association.³² The Minutes of the Boston Association are remarkably free from references to slavery. This can be accounted for in several ways. For one thing, the leaders of the General Convention (whose headquarters were in Boston) were members of this Association, and it was to their interest to discourage any agitation of the subject. Furthermore, when the matter of slavery came up, it was usually discussed after the official adjournment of the Association, so that the Minutes would not have any records about it.³³ Likewise, Nathaniel

Colver, probably the principal Massachusetts Baptist abolitionist, did not begin his work in Boston until 1839, and his abolitionist activity was put into the anti-Garrison movement of the American Anti-Slavery Society.³⁴ Several efforts were made to initiate a Baptist anti-slavery society in Massachusetts.³⁵ Apparently no such state organization ever became vigorous.

The activity of Baptist abolitionists in Connecticut, while somewhat obscure in detail, was sufficiently noteworthy to draw the praise of Theodore D. Weld, who wrote from Hartford on June 8, 1837, that Baptists were doing nobly in the anti-slavery movement.³⁶ In 1835, the first anti-slavery resolutions were passed in the Baptist state convention; after 1839 such resolutions passed annually, but the brethren were divided over the wisdom of jeopardizing the harmony of the Convention by pressing for specific action.³⁷ Some associational bodies passed resolutions on the subject, while others ignored it.³⁸

Individuals among New Jersey Baptists carried on a great deal of spirited controversy over the issue of abolitionism.³⁹ Little was found relative to Baptist abolitionism in Pennsylvania prior to 1840, save an occasional resolution in an Associational meeting.

Anti-slavery activity in New York state progressed only through struggle. At Utica in 1832, an attempt was made to hold the first meeting of the New York Anti-Slavery Convention, but a mob drove the abolitionists out of town.⁴⁰ Later the abolitionists rallied in this area, and Utica became the headquarters for the state anti-slavery society. Theodore D. Weld lectured there in February, 1836,⁴¹ and moved across western New York with good

success.⁴² In April, 1836, Weld was informed by J. B. Fisher of Geneva, New York, that the Baptist church building was available for an anti-slavery meeting, although none of the larger churches could be secured.⁴³ H. H. Loomis, of Schenectady wrote in a similar vein on June 4, 1836.⁴⁴ Elon Galusha, one of the most prominent leaders of the Baptist anti-slavery movement, was quite influential in western New York. His name became familiar in the fifth decade as the first president of the American Baptist Anti-Slavery Society. Wherever he went as pastor he moved the area toward anti-slavery.⁴⁵ Outside of the city of New York it is probable that after 1840 most of the state rallied toward the support of abolitionism. Weld felt that New York City had considerable self-interest in sustaining the system of slavery.⁴⁶ Some associations in the state passed censorious resolutions against slavery.⁴⁷ Others studiously avoided any mention of it. The abolitionists bitterly denounced what they termed the "largest Baptist Association in the Christian United States of America." Their reference was to the Hudson River Baptist Association, which comprised a large area centering in New York City. This Association, like that of Boston, was composed of such influential national Baptist leaders as Benjamin M. Hill, Spencer H. Cone, Francis Wayland, Sr., Rufus Babcock, Jr., B. T. Welch, William Hague, George B. Ide, Thomas Dowling, and Jonathan Going. In the early period of the controversy, at least, most of these men believed that national unity of Baptists in benevolent work was vital enough to minimize any differences in what was termed a "social" or "political" question. The Minutes of the Association from 1836 to 1840 make no mention of slavery. A group of abolitionists attended the

annual meeting at Albany, New York, on June 16, 1840. The subject of slavery was broached several times by its opponents, but the Association by a large majority refused each time to consider the subject. In a discussion relative to the Home Mission Society, the question was insistently asked, whether that body employed slaveholding missionaries. Corresponding Secretary Benjamin Hill of that Society, when directly appealed to, passed the question off in a humorous vein. Moderator S. H. Cone, a member of the Executive Committee of the Society, said that all the Committee knew on the subject was that men recommended by the southern auxiliaries were employed by the Society. This method of disposing of the question enraged the abolitionists.⁴⁸

The movement toward organizing a national Baptist anti-slavery society came in 1839. There had been considerable agitation in the ranks of the Baptists themselves relative to the formation of a denominational anti-slavery society. Several state Baptist papers were outspokenly abolitionist, including the *Eastern Baptist*, Brunswick, Maine; the *Baptist Register*, Concord, New Hampshire; the *Telegraph*, Brandon, Vermont; and the *Christian Reflector*, Worchester, Massachusetts.⁴⁹ Typical of the denominational agitation in an abolitionist paper were the articles in the *Emancipator* on January 31, 1839: one (written anonymously) urged a Baptist anti-slavery society; another signed by "A Baptist Minister" launched a bitter attack against slavery.

On May 11, 1839, in conjunction with the meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York,⁵⁰ a group of Baptist abolitionists met for two sessions to consider methods to be used in organizing a Baptist abolition society. C. P. Grosvenor was elected chairman of the meetings, and two matters

were given attention. A central committee for correspondence was formed, with Duncan Dunbar and Charles W. Dennison acting as chairman and secretary, respectively. An invitation was prepared for publication, asking all advocates of immediate emancipation among American Baptists to send in their names, either to the secretary, or by way of Baptist abolitionist newspapers or individuals (of whom Elon Galusha, Nathaniel Colver, R. Turnbull, L. Fletcher, and Samuel Aaron were named). It was planned that thereafter a formal call for organization would be made and widely circulated.⁵¹ Since the *Utica Register* was thought to be handling the slavery issue improperly, a new Baptist abolitionist paper was begun in the following month at Perry, New York (home of Elon Galusha).⁵² On December 7, 1839, more than eighty Baptist ministers and laymen met at Worcester, Massachusetts, and urged that slavery should not be appeased in the cause of missions. They appointed a large delegation to attend the proposed Baptist anti-slavery convention.⁵³ On March 19, 1840, and in succeeding issues of the *Emancipator*, official notices were published announcing the meeting of a Baptist national anti-slavery convention in New York on April 27, 1840.⁵⁴ This official call was dated February 14, 1840, and represented seven hundred Baptists from thirteen of the United States. More than half of these were Baptist ministers.⁵⁵

The convention met at the McDougal Street Baptist Church, New York, on April 28-30,⁵⁶ and about one hundred attended.⁵⁷ A name was chosen and officers were elected. Elon Galusha of New York became president and O. S. Murry of Vermont, secretary. The former was a member of of the Board of the General Convention of Baptists. Two

addresses were prepared, one to northern and one to southern Baptists. The address to the North opened by identifying the convention as being a proponent of immediate emancipation. It insisted that northern Baptists had a duty to do something about slavery in their sister churches of the South, and closed with the assertion that after the South had been urged to put away the system, should the southern Baptist churches still "cling to the evil, and defend it as scriptural and right, it will become your duty, in the fear of God, and in a manner the most solemn and deliberate, to withdraw yourselves from their fellowship . . ." ⁵⁸ The address was signed by a committee of five members of the convention. The lengthy address to Baptists in the South, signed by the president and the secretary of the convention, asserted that slavery was wrong and unscriptural, and that it brought a curse upon those engaging in it and disrepute upon all Baptists. Southern churches were urged to confess the sinfulness of holding slaves, to remonstrate against civil laws which entrenched the system, and if these pleas were disregarded, to gather their families and possessions and emigrate to the North. It closed by saying that if southern Baptists would not do this, they could not be recognized as consistent brethren in Christ and their hands could not be cordially taken at the Lord's table. ⁵⁹

The year that followed the organization of this Baptist abolitionist convention and the wide circulation of its addresses was a torrid one. Responses to these events by the North, the South, and the benevolent societies were not long delayed.

The Northern response may be glimpsed in the immediate outbreak of controversy in a Baptist paper as conservative and as neutral as the *Christian*

*Watchman*⁶⁰ and in the action of the various state bodies. Closely following the publication of the addresses of the Baptist anti-slavery convention, a man signing himself "A Baptist Layman" delivered a stinging rebuke to the *Christian Watchman* in an article alleging that the paper had leaned toward abolitionism in its recent articles. This layman (apparently from the North) said that the South regarded the *Christian Watchman* as the "organ of the denomination in the North" and that the paper was misleading them into thinking that northern churches were nearly ready to disfellowship slaveholders. That, said the layman, was not true of the majority of northern churches, who did not wish to make slavery a test of Christian fellowship or a subject of action in churches and Associations.⁶¹ In the same issue the editor defended his use of material on the ground of liberty of thought, and not because the sentiments were approved or because it was felt that these were the ideas held by the great body of Northern Baptists. He mourned that there were so few devotional articles submitted now, although there was a plenitude of polemics on denominational differences and on the sins of the Southern brethren.⁶² In the following issue one of the members of the Baptist anti-slavery convention anonymously assailed the Baptist layman.⁶³ A week later the layman wrote a vigorous attack against the convention's appeal to Southern Baptists. He asked if the five ministers (who had signed the address to Northern Baptists, perhaps) were willing to take the responsibility of annihilating the bonds of Christian fellowship uniting the Northern and Southern churches. He urged the members of the committee and the entire convention to leave the sowing of seeds of discord and strife to others.⁶⁴

On July 17, 1840, "One of the Five Brethren" answered the layman. He said that it had been quite difficult to introduce the subject of slavery into the churches, associations, and conventions, and that some of the Baptist abolitionists felt that they should have some organ of expression. "It was thought by many that this would be the most efficient method, that could be devised, of acting upon the denomination . . ." This convention was a "mere temporary meeting of brethren" who desired to remove the curse of slavery; it had no existence at present and may or may not meet again. The article closed with the statement that many felt it to be Southern "ignorance and unbelief" that caused their retention of the system of slavery, so ". . . we feel it our duty therefore to protest long and earnestly, before we take so important a step as withdrawing all fellowship from them . . . I am willing to labor five, ten, or even twenty years, if it be necessary, and life and health be granted, before taking a step so solemn and momentous."⁶⁵ On September 18, an article was copied from the *Biblical Recorder* of North Carolina which had been addressed to all Southern Baptists. This article and the reply by the *Christian Watchman* are significant in that they set out exactly the issues of the conflict that finally brought separation. The Southern paper urged Southern Baptists to stand erect, for since the abolitionists (by their address to the South) had put an end to honorable discussion of the slavery question and in effect had disfellowshipped the South, the only alternative was for the South either to surrender its independence and self-respect or to declare an end to all discussion, all Christian fellowship, and all religious co-operation. The difficult position of non-abolitionist Baptists in the North was recognized.

"They cannot occupy neutral ground," asserted the *Biblical Recorder*. To hold to the abolitionists would mean exclusion of the Southern brethren; to adhere to the Southern brethren would require the breaking of fellowship with the abolitionists. This is the crux of the conflict that continued until the separation in 1845. The South endeavored to separate the abolitionists from the benevolent societies, who, in turn, tried to occupy neutral ground. The article by the *Biblical Recorder* urged that no immediate action be taken by the Baptist in the South, but that after a reasonable period, if "we should find them (the benevolent societies) still in league with the abolitionists," the Southern churches "should have no alternative but to declare a general rule of non-intercourse, and to organize for ourselves such institutions for missionary and other purposes, as our circumstances shall require." In reply, the editor of the *Christian Watchman* deprecated separation. The abolitionists have not disfellowshipped the South, he declared. Some individuals and a few churches may have acted against *individual* slaveholders, but probably "not one in ten of those who are ranked among abolitionists, is in favor of passing a general vote of dis-fellowship against the Southern churches." He discounted resolutions of Associations as being "peace offerings" for a minority and called anti-slavery conventions "harmless things," partaking of the spirit of political movements. The Northern editor criticized the spirit of the article and said that the *Biblical Recorder* wanted to do the very thing it was protesting: to introduce the subject into conventions, associations, and churches throughout the South. He concluded:

We have too much confidence in the piety and

good sense of Baptists at the South to believe they will run into these extreme measures. They surely will not exclude men for possessing zeal which is not according to knowledge, and that is, perhaps, the worst which can be said against abolitionists. Above all, let them not suppose that the Baptists at the North will be driven to the alternative, either to break fellowship with the abolitionists or their southern brethren . . . They . . . will never make the fellowship of the churches a matter of convenience, a matter of retaliation, nor a tool of political philanthropy.⁶⁶

The various state groups of Baptist abolitionists were jubilant at the formation of the national abolitionist organization. Much impetus was given, for example, to the anti-slavery movement in Maine. On June 17, 1840, little more than a month after the national anti-slavery convention, the Maine Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention came into existence. It was organized in connection with the state Baptist anniversary.⁶⁷ It adopted a vigorous attitude against slavery and arranged for permanent organization. A second meeting was held at Topsham, Maine, on January 19-20, 1841, and well known abolitionists were named as its officers, including J. Gilpatrick, president, S. Adlam, secretary (who was to precipitate the decisive discussion in the Home Mission Society), E. R. Warren, W. R. Prescott, and L. C. Stevens. The convention adopted an address to the Baptists of Maine and one to Southern Baptists, on the model of the national convention's action. It was claimed that one hundred and eighty of the two hundred and

fourteen Baptist ministers of Maine were active abolitionists.⁶⁸

The response of Southern Baptists to the first national anti-slavery convention of Baptist which was held in New York and its lengthy address to the South was, as would be supposed, quite antagonistic. The wide circulation of the address in the South was attested by the strong resolutions that came from Baptist churches in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Virginia, criticizing both the content of the address and the fact of its circulation in the South.⁶⁹ When, at the close of the Boston Association's meeting at Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1840, a group remained to endorse the address, the Executive Committee of the Georgia Baptist Convention wrote to the Board of the General Convention on October 10, 1840, demanding that they explicitly define their position as a Board, since many of their members belonged to this Boston Association. Funds were to be withheld until a communication was received on the subject.⁷⁰ At the meeting of the Acting Board on November 2, a reply was prepared in the form of a circular.⁷¹ It was unanimously adopted by the group consisting of Daniel Sharp, Solomon Peck, Heman Lincoln, Levi Farwell, Irah Chase, Joel S. Bacon, Nathaniel W. Williams, John Wayland, Richard Fletcher, Baron Stow, William Hague, and Charles Train.⁷² This circular denied the right of the General Convention to deal with matters other than foreign missions. The abolitionist influences being brought against the Board were termed "wholly irrelevant and should be steadfastly withstood." With respect to slavery or anti-slavery, went on the circular, "the Board has, so to speak, neither a name nor existence."⁷³ On November 7, 1840, the Alabama State Convention of Baptists appointed a committee

of its ablest men to report on the abolitionist agitation. They reported that the movement was unscriptural and unconstitutional with respect to the benevolent societies, that it would hurt the peace and prosperity of the churches if agitated, and that it was dangerous to the national political union. It was recommended that funds should be withheld from the national Baptist societies until assurances were given that they were not connected with the abolitionists. If such assurances were not received, it was urged that a Southern Board be formed to transmit mission funds.⁷⁴ This interrogation was answered by the circular of the General Convention prepared on November 2. The other benevolent societies found it necessary to issue similar addresses on this issue. That of the Home Mission Society will be discussed in a separate chapter.

The Executive Committee of Georgia Baptists was not satisfied with the circular of the General Convention, since it dealt with general principles rather than specific issues. Whereupon, on January 22, 1841, the Boston Board wrote the Georgia group that Treasurer Heman Lincoln was leaving on that day for the South to discuss the situation with them. Even before Lincoln arrived, the Georgia leaders said that if he was going to "try to steer between us and the abolitionists, and maintain the co-operation of both, they might well have spared themselves the expense and trouble."⁷⁵ There was much dissatisfaction in the South.⁷⁶ Lincoln's efforts in Georgia were only partially successful. David Benedict, the Baptist historian, tells how he accompanied Lincoln in a call at the home of B. M. Sanders, chairman of the Executive Committee of Georgia Baptists.⁷⁷ For eight hours an earnest discussion took place, but nothing was settled. Benedict noted the uneasiness "everywhere apparent"

in the South on the question and was convinced that union and harmony in benevolent efforts could not long be maintained.⁷⁸

The meeting of the General Convention in 1841 was awaited with tenseness by both North and South. The *Baptist Banner* (Kentucky) feared "ultraism" from several directions, and urged that "every memorial, remonstrance, petition, letter, resolution, motion, and document not pertaining to Foreign Missions, should be laid on the table without debate This is the position that should be maintained in all our organized religious bodies."⁷⁹ The editor of the *Christian Watchman* looked with open foreboding upon the coming anniversaries, and urged the proper spirit for the meeting.⁸⁰ The Southern leaders were watching closely.⁸¹ They were uncertain as to how widespread abolitionist ideas were among the officers of the General Convention. The South Carolina Baptist Convention requested the delegates from slaveholding states to assemble at Baltimore before the opening of the convention in order to determine what course to pursue and to secure concert of action.⁸² A pre-convention meeting was held, and in addition to the Southerners, three or four influential leaders from New York and Boston attended. After preliminary discussion Spencer H. Cone of New York submitted a preamble and resolution which, according to W. B. Johnson of South Carolina, demonstrated to the Southern brethren that "the body of our Northern brethren are not Abolitionists, but disapprove of the proceedings of our Abolition brethren."⁸³ Cone's resolution took note of efforts "to introduce new tests of good standing and fellowship, unknown in the denomination generally" and disavowed all such tests of fellowship. It was subsequently signed by seventy-four of the principal Northern and Southern leaders.

This "Compromise Article" was bitterly attacked by abolitionists, especially Nathaniel Colver of Boston.⁸⁴

As a result of Cone's resolution, the meeting of the General Convention on April 28, 1841, reflected a much better prospect for the successful continuation of the existing relations between the two sections of Baptists. Their conflicting views were first brought into the open in the election of officers for the Convention and for the Board of Foreign Missions. Before this election Richard Fuller, one of the principal Southern leaders, and Elon Galusha, president of the Baptist national anti-slavery society, met for the first time and had a pleasant conversation. Fuller suggested to Galusha that since there was a great deal of controversy centering around Galusha's presidency of the anti-slavery society, Galusha himself might want to propose his own removal as one of the vice-presidents of the Board. Galusha replied that "he would do so but for one thing; viz, that an official demand was with the President and Secretaries that he should be sacrificed."⁸⁵ Whereupon, in the meeting of the Convention Fuller arose and asked President W. B. Johnson if any demands had been made upon him to leave off any member of the Board in the coming election. Johnson said that there had been no such demands.⁸⁶ The same question was put to the Secretaries, who replied in the negative. Fuller then observed that a report was in circulation that such demands had been made, and that he wished to know the truth, for if demands had been made to proscribe any man for conscience' sake, he would vote for the man for conscience' sake.⁸⁷ It was then suggested that perhaps some of the delegates might have come with instructions to insist upon the exclusion of certain members from the Board. The South Carolina delegates were questioned, and they said they had no

such instructions. Specific information was then asked about the church at Camden, South Carolina, which had unanimously adopted a resolution asking their Association to use its influence in having Elon Galusha expelled from his office with the Boston Board.⁸⁸ It was found that there were no delegates from that church. William Brisbane (a former slaveholder who had become an ardent abolitionist) then asked Jesse Hartwell of Alabama about instructions to leave certain members off the Board. The reply was in the negative. The Georgia delegates were interrogated, and the Hon. Thomas Stocks answered that they had no instructions. After some remarks Fuller and Galusha led in prayer, and the election continued. The result was that Galusha and Editor Thomas Meredith of the *Biblical Recorder* of North Carolina were not returned to their offices on the Board. In reporting the results, the editor of the *Christian Watchman* gave the impression that there had been an understanding between Northern and Southern members that these two "ultras" were to be eliminated.⁸⁹ W. B. Johnson later emphatically asserted that this was not true. He solemnly affirmed in writing that the Southern group had never discussed in any of their meetings the matter of leaving anyone off the Board. He said that he had heard much opinion that abolitionists should be excluded from the Boards and Executive Committees, but that no agreement had been reached among the Southern members. As a matter of fact, he knew that South Carolina had voted for Meredith. He plainly denied sacrificing Meredith and Galusha, and said that he had entered into extensive correspondence with Northern and Southern Baptists leaders and had been unable to find any evidence of collusion.⁹⁰

The abolitionists were greatly incensed over this election. Their report of the Convention was sharply

critical.⁹¹ The accusation of "perfect concert among the pro-slavery and slaveholding Baptists" was made, and "evidence of preconcert" was noted in the rejection of Galusha.⁹² Later, the whole election was termed a "curious piece of slaveholding chicanery."⁹³

Controversy also arose over another matter that had entered into the election of officers in the General Convention of 1841. Baron Stow of Boston had been in the center of the growing abolitionist struggle.⁹⁴ In view of some of his utterances leaning toward abolitionism, some Southerners debated whether he should be returned to the Board as one of its officers. However, while at the Convention of 1841, Stow wrote a letter in which he emphatically voiced his disapproval of the denunciatory language used against slaveholders. He professed to be dissatisfied with the Address which the national anti-slavery group had circulated among Southern Baptists, and said that he had refused to distribute it among his friends in the South when requested to do so.⁹⁵ Stow concluded by saying that he could not find evidence in the New Testament to warrant denying any courtesy to a Christian brother who was a slaveholder.⁹⁶ After this statement had been made, Southern delegates raised no objection to his re-election to the Board.⁹⁷ An abolitionist paper said later that the "seal" of the compromise in 1841 was not only the Northern rejection of Elon Galusha, but the acquiescence by the South to the election of Stow as secretary of the Board.⁹⁸ However, the South soon began to cast suspicious glances at Stow. In the following year the *Christian Index* of Georgia noted that Stow had presided at a meeting in Boston where strong anti-slavery resolutions had been passed. The right of Stow to have his own opinions was admitted by the paper, but it was emphasized that "if he *must* mix with these

people, must preside at their conventions, we wish most heartily some other person occupied his place as secretary of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions." The threat was made to withhold funds for missions if such conduct by an officer of the General Convention was approved.⁹⁹ The Southern paper also asked if there had not been an understanding at the General Convention in 1841 that Stow was to avoid anti-slavery conventions. Whereupon, Daniel Sharp, president of the Board, and Stow, its secretary, made reply. Sharp said that although he had attended the various meetings with the Southern brethren and was in a position to have the facts, he did not know of any understanding between Northern and Southern leaders relative to proscribing a man's conscience on slavery. Stow said that he had not been a party to any "pledge" and that when the Board in its official capacity "shall lend itself to slavery, or to abolitionism, I will immediately resign the place which I there occupy."¹⁰⁰

Despite these reactions to the meeting of the General Convention of 1841, however, there was a widespread feeling that things had gone better than expected.¹⁰¹

The action of the 1841 meeting was the subject of close scrutiny by Baptist in the various New England state conventions, many of which were dominated by abolitionists. On October 13, 1841, the Maine Baptist Missionary Society met at Hallowell and voted to transfer the care of domestic missionary work to the state society.¹⁰² On October 20-21, 1841, the New York Baptist Convention met at Whitestown and passed resolutions of confidence in the Board of Foreign Missions.¹⁰³ The New Hampshire Baptist Convention met on October 19-21 at Northwood and passed a resolution asserting "that the means taken

by some few members of the late Triennial Convention¹⁰⁴ to bias the election in favor of a Board satisfactory to the Southern Delegation, were against the expressed will of that body, in favor of an unbiased action and deserving of christian rebuke." The editor of the *Christian Watchman* challenged this statement and insisted that the meeting was conducted on an entirely fair basis.¹⁰⁵ The Shaftsbury Association of Vermont passed a resolution saying that the ejection of Elon Galusha was a "base bowing down" to the "dark spirit of slavery," and protested the action as Baptists, Christians, and human beings.¹⁰⁶ The Vermont Baptist Convention, meeting at Poultney, was the scene of a resolution to separate from the Board of Foreign Missions and the American Baptist Home Mission Society. The abolitionist who presented the resolution described a Baptist anti-slavery meeting held two weeks before at Waterbury, Vermont, which had voted almost unanimously for a complete separation from the benevolent societies of the denomination, and a memorial from that meeting was read to the convention. The question of separation was debated all the afternoon of October 13. Late in the evening, using the Home Mission Society as a test, it was voted forty to sixteen not to separate.¹⁰⁷

Although in some cases other factors helped to direct their conduct, there can be little doubt that the Baptists of the North were generally sympathetic to the abolitionist cause.¹⁰⁸

The formation of the American Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention in 1841 presaged a separation of the abolitionists from the regular benevolent Boards. In August, 1841, definite plans were being made for the formation of a mission organization composed only of abolitionists. In that month the editor of

the *Christian Reflector* complained that among all the members of the Board of Foreign Missions, there was not a single avowed abolitionist, although, he said, two of the members had formerly been suspected of holding abolitionist doctrines. These two had been careful "to give to the Southern members of the Convention satisfactory evidence that they were not guilty of the heresy." The editor used strong language to deny the neutrality of the Board, asserting that they "have chosen their own ground deliberately" and have said by their *doings* that they did not want the co-operation of the abolitionists in sending the gospel to the heathen. He concluded by saying that the abolitionists had a Board of their own choosing, and urged contributions of mission funds.¹⁰⁹ Nine months later there came the announcement of the Third Annual Meeting of the American Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention. Delegates from the state conventions were invited, and the subjects for discussion were indicated as being the establishment of foreign mission channels and the education of the ministry on the home field.¹¹⁰ The meeting was held on May 18, 1842. There were one hundred present (according to a vote), of whom sixty were either officers or members of the executive committee. A constitution based on abolitionist principles was adopted, and a plan for a Provisional Foreign Missions Committee was voted almost unanimously. The plan stated that "in our judgment the present Baptist Foreign Mission organizations occupy a position which, whatever be the intentions of the individuals composing it, does nevertheless practically sanction the institution of slavery . . . so as to debar us from a conscientious fellowship with them." The belief was expressed that a "large portion of the denomination do not and cannot in good conscience" make contributions to the

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existing Board while it holds its presents position. A Provisional Committee was appointed, consisting of thirteen members (among them being Nathaniel Colver and Elon Galusha), who had power to select, appoint, and locate missionaries, and to disburse funds. There was to be no compromise with slavery or its sympathizers. Confidence was expressed in the missionaries of the General Convention already on the mission fields, and the committee was authorized to forward undesignated funds for their support "unless they shall forfeit that confidence."¹¹¹ The Massachusetts Abolition Society that met the following week prophesied that the Provisional Committee would doubtless soon embrace "most of the churches of that denomination" unless the old Board should take an abolitionist stand.¹¹²

The action of the Provisional Committee in sending funds to missionaries already employed by the old Board was soon challenged. Instead of taking an abolitionist position, the old Board adopted a resolution to the effect that none of their missionaries would be allowed to receive funds through other than the accustomed channel. It was evident, therefore, that the abolitionists must either co-operate with the Board or form a permanent society for independent work.¹¹³ The old Board, at the same time, again affirmed its complete neutrality on the subject of slavery. Some of the influential Baptist abolitionists hesitated to make a complete break with the old Board, hoping that the slaveholders would, in consequence of the avowed neutrality of the Board, voluntarily withdraw from the General Convention.¹¹⁴ A meeting was held by the abolitionists on May 4, 1843, in which it was decided that a new permanent Baptist abolitionist mission society should be organized under the name of the American and Foreign

Baptist Missionary Society.¹¹⁵ A committee was appointed to prepare a constitution and to report at a later meeting. When the committee met on May 10, a statement was issued which expressed regret that some of the Baptist Abolitionists preferred to wait another year in the hope that "a total separation would take place at the General Convention, next spring, by the slaveholders and the Convention"¹¹⁶ At the call of this committee, a Baptist anti-slavery convention met on May 31, at Boston, and the constitution prepared by the committee was adopted. This constitution provided for a society to do both home and foreign mission work. Membership was available to those paying \$1.00 annually or \$20.00 for a life membership, and to delegates from a contributing church or auxiliary society. A resolution was adopted to begin correspondence with English Baptists and to request their sympathy and co-operation.¹¹⁷ At the annual meeting in May of the following year it was reported that a monthly paper known as the *Free Missionary* was being published as the organ of the society.¹¹⁸

As the meeting of the General Convention for 1844 approached, there were again notes of foreboding. Typical comment was that of the editor of the *Baptist Memorial and Monthly Chronicle* who, after somberly reflecting on coming events, called for "a spirit of humble, persevering, believing prayer" to be exercised by the delegates and the churches.¹¹⁹ When the convention met, W. D. Johnson of South Carolina, who had been elected president in 1841, declined to be a candidate for re-election. He recommended that the next president be selected from the Middle or Eastern states, since Southerners had filled the office for twenty of the thirty years of the Convention's existence.¹²⁰ In his *Recollections*, J. B.

Jeter said that Johnson was forced to resign as a "peace offering" to abolitionists.¹²¹ During the session Richard Fuller, attempting to head off the discussion of the slavery issue, offered a resolution to the effect that the convention was a corporation with limited powers and could transact only the business authorized by the constitution; furthermore, that "co-operation together in the objects of this convention does not involve nor imply sympathy or concert to any matters foreign to that object." Nathaniel Colver opposed the resolution on the ground that he did not want to be fettered in respect to any subject. The resolution was later withdrawn in favor of one offered by G. B. Ide of Philadelphia. This substitute recognized that "there exists in various sections of our country, an impression that our present organization involves the fellowship of the institution of domestic slavery, or of certain associations which are designed to oppose this institution" and resolved that in co-operating together "we disclaim all sanction, either expressed or implied, whether of slavery or of anti-slavery," but that as individuals, each member could express and promote his own views.¹²² The pivotal discussion of the slavery issue took place, not in the General Convention, but in the Home Mission Society.¹²³ The story of the critical discussions of 1844 and 1845 will be related in the following chapter.

Baptist abolitionism was now reaching the peak of its influence. Its early proponent, Elon Galusha, had lost his place of leadership with Baptists because he had followed the chiliastic ideas of William Miller after 1843. He had resigned as president of the New York Baptist Convention, a post which he had held since 1824 when the organization was founded.¹²⁴ To carry on his abolitionist leadership

there were many able Baptists—men like Nathaniel Colver of Boston, C. W. Dennison of New York, and Samuel Adlam of Maine.¹²⁵ The abolitionists had moved steadily from great unpopularity during early years, to recognition, and finally to victory. By 1844, apart from Southerners, there was hardly a leader to speak a sympathetic word for the problem of the South as B. T. Welch had done seven years before.¹²⁶ Few doubted that the abolitionists had won their battle in the Baptist benevolent societies when the anniversaries of 1845 were announced.

CHAPTER IV

CRISIS IN THE HOME MISSION SOCIETY



The agitation of abolitionism in America begun by English Baptists in 1833, augmented by the increasing strength of the indigenous American movement, could not fail to arouse apprehension in the minds of Southern Baptists concerning their co-operation with the benevolent societies in the North. The first reply to the communication of the English Baptists on September 1, 1834, had breathed a sympathetic spirit for the problem of the South. The slavery system, Corresponding Secretary Lucius Bolles of the Boston Board had written, was inherited by the present generation of Southern Baptists, most of whom would rejoice in any practicable scheme to eliminate it.¹ A decade of abolitionism brought a change of attitude to both Northern and Southern Baptists. In the North several varieties of thought may be distinguished. One group thought that slavery was not a sin and should be let alone; a second disapproved of slavery, but felt that a society for mission purposes had no right to deal with it; a third saw slavery as a sin and desired to co-operate with the South in abolishing it by peaceful and gospel means; a fourth saw slavery as a sin and desired complete separation from it. Representatives of each of these groups may be found in the meetings of the Home Missions Society in 1841 and 1844. The winning over to the fourth position of many in the first three categories constituted the victory of the Baptist abolitionists. The attitude of Southern Baptists, goaded by political and economic developments of the fourth decade, changed from resentment at "outside

interference" to bitterness against the abolitionists, whom they recognized as fomenters of the issue. They felt that their very lives were at stake when the abolitionists sent inflammatory literature to the South, since violent uprising by the slaves were not unknown. Many Southerners who had no love for slavery rallied to its defense in the face of sectional agitation. The issue was crystalized by the formation of the American Baptists Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840. The adoption of the Address of that convention to the South by a considerable part of the Boston Association brought an official challenge by the Georgia Baptist Convention to the Boston Board. The Board's reply on November 2, 1840, asserted complete neutrality on slavery and abolitionism.

Growing out of this agitation, the Home Mission Society was required to define its position relative to slavery. A circular was published on February 16, 1841, stating that on Baptist principles, churches alone had the power to legislate and to exercise discipline, and that any official legislation by the Society against slaveholding churches was out of the question. The circular continued:

It would be travelling out of the record to allow the introduction of the question, or admit it even as a subject of conference in the society. We must, in doing so, act uncommissioned; and trample upon the ruins of our constitution, to arrive at the question.²

Any other attitude, it went on, would be in complete violation of Baptist practice and would create a synod "whose usurpations laid the basis of the Romish apostasy." Furthermore, if fellowship and contributions of the South were rejected, intercourse would

be cut off from the only group that could make the final decision to eliminate slavery. For these reasons, the Society declined even to discuss the question.³ The abolitionists made a scathing attack upon this pronouncement, remarking that the American Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention would soon meet and take a proper stand upon this issue.⁴

One of the evidences of the success of Baptist abolitionism was the increasing number of articles and the correspondence on slavery that appeared in newspapers of the denomination. The *Christian Watchman*, for example, widely viewed in the South as the "voice of the denomination in the North,"⁵ began to publish numerous items on slavery.⁶ As a result, there came a general acceptance of abolitionist ideas. Many who at first had been shocked at the formation of a national Baptist anti-slavery society, soon, through familiarity gained by reading the denominational press, accepted the innovation, and then gave it their sympathy and support.

It has already been noticed that Nathaniel Colver led a small but influential group of Baptist abolitionists in an effort to remain within the various benevolent bodies and endeavor to secure the withdrawal of the Southern members. Other abolitionists brought great pressure against Colver to quit these societies in favor of the abolitionist mission organization. Had he done so, the story might have been different.⁷

The meeting of the Home Mission Society in 1844 followed a long series of violent public controversies between Northern and Southern leaders. On December 27, 1843, an anonymous inquiry was published in the *Baptist Record*, Concord, New Hampshire, asking whether or not it was true that James Huckins and William Tryon, missionaries of

the Baptist Home Mission Society in Texas, were slaveholders.⁸ The same paper called attention editorially on January 17, 1844, to the reaction to this inquiry by the *Biblical Recorder* of North Carolina, who called the inquirer "another firebrand" and asked,

And now, how shall our brethren of the Home Mission Board proceed? Shall they insult the South by putting missionaries out of their employ, because they happen to be owners of slaves? Or shall they retain such men, and drive off the Abolitionists? One or the other of these alternatives, it would seem, they have now got to choose.

The *Christian Reflector* of Boston demanded an answer to the question of whether or not the Home Mission Society was actually employing slaveholders. Two weeks later *Zion's Advocate* of Portland, Maine, published remarks which showed that C. M. Burleigh of Killingsly, Connecticut, had precipitated the controversy after he had read a statement in the *Liberator* to the effect that Huckins and Tryon were slaveholders. The *Christian Index* of Georgia entered the controversy. On February 12, 1844, Secretary Benjamin Hill of the Home Mission Society had written an official reply to several specific questions submitted by a Northern inquirer relative to slavery. The first question had asked if the Society supported any missionaries known to be slaveholders; the reply said that the Society was not aware that any of their missionaries were such. The second question had asked if to the knowledge of the Board Huckins and Tryon were slaveholders; the reply said that the Board had no such knowledge. The third question asked if these men could be retained if they

were slaveholders; the reply said that the matter was never discussed by the Executive Committee, and referred to the neutrality circular of 1841 which banned such discussion.⁹ The editor of the *Christian Index* noted these replies and raised two additional questions with Secretary Hill. The first asked if it were true that the Society would not employ one as a misisonary who was known to be a slaveholder; the second inquired if the Executive Committee claimed the right to decide whether slaveholding disqualified a person to serve as a missionary of the Society.¹⁰ Two weeks later the same editor asserted that Tryon was a slaveholder when appointed by the Society, and asked of *Zion's Advocate*, "what of that, brother Advocate? Are you willing to employ . . . the money of slaveholders, but not their prayers and exhortations? . . . Establish the principle that no slaveholder shall be employed by the Home Mission Society and you drive from it a large portion of your brethren . . . and the sin of rending the denomination asunder must lie at your door" ¹¹ When Secretary Hill did not reply to the two questions propounded, the *Christian Index* demanded a reply before giving further support to the work of the Society.

We say to the Board, BE HONEST. If you are unwilling to admit your slaveholding brethren to equal privileges with you, say so fearlessly and honestly. To draw money from them, under the belief that they are to enjoy the privileges to which they are entitled under the Constitution, while you are determining not to allow them those privileges, is to draw money under *false pretenses*.¹²

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On April 11, the *Christian Reflector* of Boston published a letter by a former member of Huckins' church at Houston, Texas, stating categorically that Huckins and Tryon were slaveholders. The latter had come into possession of slaves by marriage. The editor was happy to hear that Huckins was not now sustained by the Society, but was awaiting "with deep anxiety" the answers of the Board to the questions submitted by the *Christian Index* of Georgia. On April 12, the *Christian Index* published a reply by Secretary Hill to its questions, in which the Secretary simply referred to the neutrality circular of 1841 and did not attempt to give specific replies. The editor of the *Christian Index* called this "evasive and unsatisfactory." After a critical discussion he closed by saying that "we never have desired the boards of any of our National institutions to take any action on the subject of slavery. We of the South have only required that they 'let it alone,' and sorry are we that this has not been done by brother Hill."¹³ On three succeeding days, beginning with April 16, the editors of *Zion's Advocate*, the *Baptist Register*, and the *Christian Reflector*, of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, respectively, wrote sharp editorials in an abolitionist vein. The latter two expressed an earnest desire that the Home Mission Society give a forthright answer to the question of whether the Society would appoint slaveholders. The *Christian Reflector* said that it had learned that the Board of the Society *would not* appoint such a person.¹⁴ Less than a week later the meeting of the Home Mission Society was held. The main question that faced it was the one that had been agitated for the past months: would the Society appoint a slaveholder as a missionary?

After the organizational details were attended

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on the first day of the meeting, Samuel Adlam of Maine, one of the leading abolitionists, introduced a resolution stating that the Society would appoint a slaveholder. He purposely worded it so that it did not express his own views. When the resolution was brought up for consideration, Adlam referred definitely to the Huckins-Tryon controversy and said that he had the impression from the newspaper reports that "if slaveholders were employed, it was accidentally or unknowingly done."¹⁵ He gave an exact resume of the positions of the North and the South as brought out in the newspaper controversy just mentioned, and closed with an appeal for an unequivocal decision. If North and South must part on this question, he said, let it be in peace. The response of the Society (approximately one hundred and eighty five voted) revealed two general attitudes, not based primarily upon slavery or abolitionism, but upon separation or union in benevolent work. The abolitionist group had come prepared to insist upon separation from all relations with slaveholders.¹⁶ They took the position that it was due both the North and the South to make it plain what the Society intended to do. During one discussion Nathaniel Colver mentioned that the party of William Lloyd Garrison was appealing directly to the churches of the North "with no little effect" because of the "guilt of ministers and churches in sustaining slavery." He urged that division was much better than the present confusion. The other articulate group, which might be called the unionist party, was made up of those Northern leaders who felt either that the Society lacked jurisdiction on the slavery question or that union was more important than this issue, and of those Southerners who desired to maintain the present union.

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The two elements of the unionist group tried to straddle the issue. The remarks of Nathaniel Colver for the abolitionists and Richard Fuller for the unionists epitomize the entire struggle. Colver was fair in all his statements and "concluded his remarks in strong and effective language, and yet with many kind and conciliatory expressions which gave to his arguments increased weight." He opposed all of several amendments to the original resolution of Adlam which might make less than an unequivocal declaration on the subject. Both sides saw that a division, either with abolitionism or with the slaveholders, was inevitable. The Southern arguments set forth by Fuller and J. B. Jeter did not defend slavery.¹⁷ It was an institution, they said, which had been inherited, and just as some diseases must be cured by purifying the blood rather than by having an abrupt operation, so in this case the remedy was already working, and the South would gradually do away with the system. They reiterated that responsibility for religious division would be upon the Northern brethren who were agitating this question, and that it might presage political division. Against arguments from the constitution which were offered by the unionists, the abolitionists insisted that the Society had the right to examine the qualifications of its missionaries. Although it was admitted that the constitution made no distinction between slaveholders and non-slaveholders, it was urged that the Society had the right under the constitution to refuse an appointment to a person whose qualifications were unsatisfactory—in this case, one who held slaves. The discussion resulted in a Pyrrhic victory for the unionists. Fuller introduced an amendment to Adlam's resolution which asserted complete neutrality on the question. It passed by a vote of 123 to

61. The house was divided against itself, however, and a committee of nine was appointed to consider the amicable dissolution of the Society and to make its report at the Board meeting in the following year.

An editorial by the *Christian Reflector* the following week set out some interesting aspects of this meeting. It was reported that the effort of the Southerners to defend their position "was worth more to the anti-slavery cause than any speeches against slavery that could have been made . . ." The Southern brethren were described as "standing alone." After a speech by B. T. Welch of Albany, in which he quoted the abolitionist motto of proclaiming liberty throughout the land, there came a burst of spontaneous applause from a congregation heretofore unmoved. The article closed with a letter by John Dowling, a member of the Executive Board of the Society, which said that the writer had endeavored to be neutral on the issue, but that his conscience would let him do so no longer; that he could not vote for a slaveholder as a missionary.¹⁸ The *Christian Index* of Georgia observed Dowling's letter, and promised to watch the actions of the Society to see if it followed its former satisfactory course.¹⁹

More significant than this newspaper skirmishing, however, was the "test case" that was offered by the Georgia Baptists Convention, which met at Cave Springs on May 17, less than a week after Dowling's letter was published. Just prior to this time, an application had been made to the state convention for a missionary to serve in the Tallapoosa Association of Georgia. The Executive Committee of the convention recommended that James E. Reeve, a slaveholder, be appointed at a salary of \$20 per month. Since the Georgia convention did not have

sufficient funds to care for this salary, it was further recommended that by the authority of the Executive Committee the name of Reeve be submitted to the American Baptist Home Mission Society for appointment to the needy field. To provide for his salary, three Georgia subscribers to the Society indicated a desire that their subscriptions be put to this use.²⁰ The name of Reeve was not submitted to the Society until August 2, 1844. On August 14, the Secretary of the Society's Executive Board asked for additional information on the application, and this was furnished. In addition to the usual information, the statement was volunteered that Reeve was a slaveholder. This statement was made, said B. M. Sanders, president of the Executive Board of Georgia and of the state convention, not to agitate the question of slavery, but to "stop the mouths of gainsayers," since many did not believe that the Society would appoint a slaveholder to be a missionary.²¹ This application was the subject of discussion during several special meetings of the Executive Board of the Society, as well as during regular sessions.²² At a special meeting on October 7, 1844, Secretary Benjamin Hill presented a preamble and resolutions on the application, which were passed by a vote of seven to five.²³ In essence the reply to the Georgia Baptist Convention rested on the resolution which had been passed at the last anniversary of the Society upon motion of Richard Fuller. It said that the constitution denied the right of anyone to introduce the subject of slavery or anti-slavery into the deliberations of the Society. Some of the members of the Board felt that this appointment was designed as a test to see whether the Board would appoint a slaveholder as a missionary.²⁴ Such a test, the reply stated, violated the purpose and letter of the Constitution,

compromised the principles of the neutrality circular of 1841, ignored the resolutions of the Society at its last anniversary, and threatened to destroy the harmony of the Society. On these grounds the application for the appointment of Reeve was not considered.²⁵

The *Christian Index* of Georgia gave wide publicity to the refusal and the circumstances attending it. It was urged, however, that funds should not be withheld from the General Convention (for foreign missions).²⁶ On November 1, 1844, in a long article B. M. Sanders, president of the Executive Board of Georgia, reviewed the entire incident and made lengthy remarks. He said that this affair went far "to evince the necessity of a Southern organization for our benevolent operation." This statement he made with "fear and trembling;" although he had hoped for union among Baptists, circumstances seemed to be leading in another direction. He expressed a wish that at the next meeting of the Society, there might be a return to the principles originally held governing the appointment of missionaries.²⁷ The same issue of this paper quoted an article from the *Christian Watchman*, which said that the South could not be expecting to continue co-operation under the circumstances, and that it might be better to separate.

In this immediate climate of opinion the Alabama Baptist State Convention met in November, 1844. Its members were disturbed by rumors that Home Secretary R. E. Pattison of the Boston Board was trying to secure the resignation of a beloved slaveholding missionary to the Indians, in order to conciliate abolitionists.²⁸ They were further provoked by the refusal of the Home Mission Society to appoint James E. Reeve.²⁹ As a result, on November 25, 1844, a resolution was addressed to the Board of

the General Convention demanding the distinct avowal that slaveholders were equally eligible to all the privileges enjoyed by non-slaveholders, especially with reference to the appointment of agents and missionaries.³⁰ Under date of December 17, 1844 (but not released for publication until much later), the Acting Board replied to the effect that if anyone having slaves offered himself as a missionary "and should insist upon retaining them as his property, we could not appoint him. One thing is certain: we can never be a party to any arrangement which would imply approbation of slavery."³¹ When this reply came to the attention of the Virginia Baptist Foreign Mission Society, they immediately determined to call a meeting for conference on the propriety of organizing a new convention. A circular was prepared by J. B. Jeter³² discussing the reply of the Acting Board and terming it a violation of the constitution of the General Convention, of the compromise of 1841, and of consistent, just, and wise principles. It was suggested that funds be withheld from the General Convention and that a Southern consultative meeting be held "to confer on the best means of promoting the Foreign Mission cause, and other interests of the Baptist denomination in the South." It also suggested Augusta, Georgia, as a meeting place, and the first part of May as a possible date.³³ Alabama agreed with Virginia that further co-operation with the General Convention was impossible.³⁴ On April 2, 1845, Tennessee Baptists published resolutions which asserted that the General Convention would not sustain the Acting Board and urged that no separate Southern convention be contemplated.³⁵ Georgia Baptist officially voted to support the proposed meeting, and invited all southern and southwestern states to send representatives.³⁶

An abolitionist resume of the reaction of various states is of interest. Editor Meredith of the *Biblical Recorder* of North Carolina saw nothing objectionable in the reply by the Acting Board. The New York *Baptist Register* frankly said that separation would be better than the exisiting strife. Even if the subject of slavery were not involved, the editor thought that division would be desirable on account of the immense extent of the country and the need for the South to become active in the management, as well as the support, of the mission enterprises. The Ohio *Cross and Journal* felt that separation would tend to further missions, because North and South would provoke each other "to greater zeal in good works." With the exception of Editor Crowell of the *Christian Watchman*, it was felt that most of the North approved of the "honest, openhearted answer of the Board" and the prospects of separation. The *Vermont Observer* believed that the reply of the Acting Board met almost unanimous approval, and acquiesced to division; *Zion's Advocate* of Maine saw division as unavoidable; the *Baptists Banner* of Kentucky believed that division had come. Georgia's *Christian Index* promised the support of Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi in the contemplated convention. Adoniram Judson, missionary of the General Convention, said that the extent of the country alone called for a separate organization. Home Missionary John M. Peck blamed newspaper controversies for all the trouble. James B. Taylor of Virginia wrote in a letter to the *Baptist Advocate* that while the prospects of separation were "unutterably painful" in the South, there was unanimity in Virginia, South Carolina "and indeed the whole South" on the rejection of the answer given by the Acting Board.³⁷

Personal correspondence between leaders of the

two sections was carried on. Two of the members of the Acting Board (Barnes Sears and William Hague) wrote to their Southern friends that the answer to the Alabama resolutions was simply an affirmation of neutrality on the question of slavery.³⁸

There was not unanimity in the North on the reply of the Acting Board. An article by "Many Northerners" appearing in the *New York Baptist Register* attacked the decision as unconstitutional and as violating "fundamental obligations."³⁹ The Baptists ministers of Philadelphia passed a resolution approving the neutrality circular of 1841 and in essence rebuking the Acting Board for its reply.⁴⁰ There was good reason to believe that the entire Board might itself refuse to sustain the reply.⁴¹

In the hubbub over the refusal of the Home Mission Society to appoint James E. Reeve and the answer to the Acting Board of the General Convention to the Alabama resolution, one significant matter was almost entirely overlooked. Doubtless the entire agitation of 1844 in the Home Mission Society was occasioned by the discovery that two of the Society's Texas missionaries—James Huckins and Williams Tryon—were slaveholders. Huckins was continued as a missionary of the Society until July 1, 1843, at the salary of \$600 a year (a large salary for a missionary at that time) and was appointed for twelve months from November 3, 1843, without salary (at his own proposition). More significant, however, is the fact that on *February 4, 1845* (four months after the refusal of the Executive Board of the Society to appoint Reeve, and at least two months after the unfavorable reply given by the Acting Board to the Alabama resolution), a known slaveholder—William Tryon—was considered by the Board of the Home Mission Society for re-appointment. At a special

meeting the Committee on Missions recommended that Tryon not receive another appointment. By motion and second this recommendation was set aside, and Tryon was appointed by a vote of eight to four. During the discussion Elisha Tucker of New York said that he objected to the appointment because Tryon was a slaveholder, and at the very time owned nine or more slaves. Tucker was prepared to show that slavery disqualified Tryon for reappointment. Chairman S. H. Cone of New York ruled that any discussion involving slavery was out of order, and his ruling was sustained by a vote of eight to four.⁴² Tryon was continued in the service of the Society until about June 15, 1845. He was not dismissed because he was a slaveholder.⁴³

In the light of all these events, much anxiety was reflected in the denominational newspapers as the date for the 1845 anniversaries approached. It is inaccurate to view either North or South as desiring separation or as opposing it. Rather, there were elements in each section that took opposite views on on separation while entertaining similar views on slavery.

The meeting of the Home Mission Society on April 29, 1845, furnished evidence that all were conscious of an imminent separation. The South had already announced the meeting of a consultative convention to take place the week after the Northern anniversaries. The discussions of the Society were a weary repetition of those of the previous year. A few still insisted that the Society should remain neutral on the issue of slavery and try to go on. Many wanted only that the unavoidable division be made in a Christian spirit. An indication of the general attitude is seen in the fact that two resolutions were finally voted with almost unanimous

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consent. The first recognized that the constitution made no distinction between slaveholders and non-slaveholders, and that all members of the Society were not willing to act on this basis. It resolved that members with different views form separate organizations, and asked that a committee be appointed to report a plan for accomplishing this. The second resolution was the report of this committee. It stated that if separation should take place, the existing charter would be retained "by the northern and other churches, which may be willing to act together upon the basis of restriction against the appointment of Slaveholders," and that amicable adjustment of any claims would be made with any who might separate.⁴⁴ The South had few representatives at this meeting. The only Southern address was made by J. B. Jeter, who said that the South expected division and were preparing for it.⁴⁵

It is evident from the action and atmosphere of this meeting that few in the Society felt that separation was unnecessary. Jeter, writing of the experience many years later, remarked that Northern conservatives agreed with the Southerners that separation was to be preferred to schisms in Northern "churches, associations, and mission societies" on the slavery question. Southern leaders were assured by "the wisest and most conservative of the Northern brethren" (especially Francis Wayland and S. H. Cone) that the formation of a separate Southern organization would meet their approval and be the subject of their earnest prayer.⁴⁶

CHAPTER V

SEPARATION AND CONFLICT



Separation between Northern and Southern Baptists occurred in the work of missions, both home and foreign. It was quite possible that separation might have been limited to one or the other of the mission tasks, for the Society method rendered the two fields completely distinct. The pertinent question in each case was, will the Society appoint a slaveholder as missionary. As a matter of fact, circumstances led to a different type of decision to be made by each Society. The Home Mission Society was approached first. The Georgia Baptist Convention sent the name of James E. Reeve, a slaveholder, for appointment. The Society did not go back to the slavery controversy, but based its answer upon policies of the Society. It referred to the circular of 1841 and the resolution by Richard Fuller which was adopted in 1844, both of which by-passed the slavery issue. Slavery or anti-slavery were questions beyond the province of the Society to discuss. Reeve's appointment was declined on the ground that this application was a *test*, and that such a test, whether submitted by abolitionists or slaveholders, could not be considered. The fact that a slaveholder was appointed by the Society in February, 1845, several months after this time, is an indication of their good faith in this decision.¹

On the other hand, when the Alabama resolutions were presented to the General Convention's Acting Board, both the question and the answer were of a different character. The question was a hypothetical one—would you appoint a slaveholder? This word-

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ing made it very difficult for the Acting Board to take a compromise position, as the Home Mission Society had done. The form of the question outflanked the possibility of an answer similar to that of the Home Mission Society. The reply seemed to state that under no circumstances would there be a slaveholder appointed by the General Convention as a missionary.² It was this grievance that was named in the calling of the consultative convention by the South. Even after the Home Mission Society passed resolutions of dissolution, some in the South felt that a foreign mission society should first be organized, and that a home mission society should be considered later. Since the grievance named by Southern Baptists applied only to the General Convention, the question of when and how division in the Home Mission Society would take place was left in abeyance.

The consultative meeting of Southern Baptists took place on May 8, 1845, at Augusta, Georgia. There were representatives from Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Kentucky, and the District of Columbia; Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Florida sent letters. It was agreed to separate. The address to the public cited the action of the Acting Board of the General Convention as being an innovation in practice and a violation of the constitution. During the discussion, J. B. Jeter read a portion of a letter from Francis Wayland of Providence, the president of the General Convention, which said:

You will separate of course. I could not ask otherwise. Your rights have been infringed. I will take the liberty of offering one or two suggestions. We have shown how Christians ought not to act, it remains for

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you to show us how they ought to act. Put away all violence, act with dignity and firmness and the world will approve your course.³

The debates and discussions indicate that there was no general agreement as to the kind of organization to form. W. B. Johnson of South Carolina was appointed chairman of a committee to prepare a constitution. After careful consideration and thorough discussion by the entire convention, a constitution was adopted which provided not only for a new organization, but for a new *kind* of organization. The financial basis of representation was carried over from the society method, but the fundamental principle of the society idea—one society for each kind of benevolence—was rejected. This Southern constitution put all benevolences under one convention. Separate Boards were named to function for each benevolent task and to act during the recess of the convention. The completely different character of this method of conducting missions from the society method laid the foundation for an ideological conflict between Northern and Southern Baptists.⁴

The adoption of this sort of organization necessarily settled the question of separation from both of the general societies, since this convention provided Boards for foreign and home missions.

The response in the North to the organization of the Southern Baptist Convention was varied. Some comments were quite generous, and reflected the friendly spirit which had been displayed by Francis Wayland. The letter written by Wayland to J. B. Jeter, mentioned heretofore, occasioned some embarrassment to the friends of the former. Finally some correspondent suggested that the letter should be interpreted by four words—"put away all violence."

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This, it was asserted, "would be a death blow to slavery."⁵ The general abolitionist newspapers in the North were quite critical in their comments about the organization of Southern Baptists.⁶

Baptist abolitionists made strenuous efforts to capitalize on what had been gained through the separation. At a special meeting of the Baptist General Convention on November 19, 1845, which had been assembled to consider the adoption of a new constitution, J. W. Sawyer of Maine endeavored to secure the passage of a resolution to recognize the division between North and South as one "between free and slaveholding Missions . . . to remain perpetual as to the American Baptist Missionary Union."⁷ The resolution was unanimously laid on the table.⁸ The American Baptist Free Mission Society tried to carry out a reunion with the General Convention (which hereafter will be referred to as the Missionary Union, its new name), which, if successful, would have led to some merger in home mission activities also, but this move failed.⁹ Thereafter, this anti-slavery mission society carried on a constantly increasing program of missions at home and abroad. It inaugurated missionary activity among the freedmen of the South after the war.¹⁰ A considerable amount of literature was circulated by this group in an effort to discredit the Home Mission Society (as well as the Missionary Union) as being under the control of northern Baptist leaders who were friendly with slave holders.¹¹

In general, Baptist abolitionists outside of the Society complained that it maintained a "studied silence" on the subject of slavery. The Society was accused of six inconsistencies relative to the issue of slavery, as follows: (1) the Society was still on the old "neutrality" basis; (2) the Society had ap-

pointed slaveholders subsequent to separation in May, 1845; (3) the Society had received slaveholders' funds after May, 1845; (4) the Society still assisted in the payment of the salaries of pastors of slaveholding churches in the South; (5) the Society had urged some slaveholding missionaries to apply to the "slaveholding convention" for appointment, thus showing concert with slaveholders; (6) many of the life members of the Society were slaveholders.¹² An interdenominational anti-slavery movement designed to blot out slavery by sending the gospel to the South was begun, but it did not survive.¹³

Within the Home Mission Society an effort was made by the abolitionists to exclude slaveholders by constitutional amendment. Direct agitation against slaveholders appeared first in meetings of the Executive Board. In its initial meeting after the 1845 anniversaries, Auditor John R. Ludlow, an ex-officio member of the Board, offered a resolution stating that heretofore the Board had appointed its missionaries without reference to slavery or anti-slavery, but that now it was obligated to change its policy; that "either implicitly or directly" the Society in 1845 had prohibited the appointment of any slaveholder as a missionary, so that it should be formally adopted as a principle of operation during the coming year that no slaveholder would be appointed as missionary. The motion was debated and finally laid on the table.¹⁴ On October 8, 1845, at a special meeting of the Board, Corresponding Secretary Benjamin Hill raised the question of the appointment of slaveholders, saying that he had received letters from brethren in the South on this point, and that he desired to know the wishes of the Board.¹⁵ The matter was discussed at several subsequent meetings.¹⁶ On December 31, 1845, there came what seems to have

been the last practical problem of this character that the Board had to face. William Tryon had been appointed on February 1, 1845, to serve one year, despite the fact that he was known to be a slaveholder. He wrote that he had been absent from his field for two quarters on account of ill health, and that his work had been done by a substitute in a manner that was satisfactory to his churches. He asked that his salary be paid for the entire period. The Board provided for this arrangement by paying his total annual salary of \$250, with the understanding that this should be regarded as the salary for the six months he had labored in person on his field, and that no salary was allowed for the second half of the year "to avoid the establishment of a precedent authorizing missionaries to appoint substitutes."¹⁷ When this arrangement expired in February, 1846, Tryon did not ask for re-appointment, so that there was no occasion for the Board to be troubled about the slavery issue.

At the anniversary of the Society in Brooklyn on May 21, 1846, after some discussion Nathaniel Colver gave the required notice that he would move to amend the constitution at the next annual meeting, so as to instruct missionaries of the Society not to administer baptism to a slaveholder nor the ordinances to a slaveholding church.¹⁸ The following year a motion to postpone the matter indefinitely was passed. Colver had secured positive assurance from several members of the Executive Board that the Society would not appoint a slaveholder, and this satisfied him.¹⁹ In 1849, goaded by Baptists abolitionists outside of the Society, Colver offered another resolution to the effect that representations had been made that the Society "is in some way fraternally connected with American slavery." He asked that

a committee be appointed to study the transactions of the last year to see if any fellowship of slavery was implied. The committee subsequently reported that (1) no funds known or suspected to be the avails of slavery had been received since the adoption of the new constitution in 1846; (2) no slaveholders had been employed since that time; (3) no missionary of the Society since that time had been known to administer the ordinances in a slaveholding church. The Society, the committee continued, has no missionary now in any slave state, save one in Delaware, who was mainly supported by the church in Wilmington and had a character above suspicion.²⁰ Baptist abolitionists vehemently denied that the Society was free from connection with slavery.²¹

The work of the Society in the South from 1846 until the outbreak of the war in 1861 may be glimpsed from the following chart:

Year	No. of states	Missionaries	Weeks of missionary labor
1846	7	14	457
1847	7	12	445
1848	5	7	295
1849	3	3	74
1850	3	3	117
1851	2	2	177
1852	2	6	195
1853	2	6	281
1854	2	6	243
1855	1	5	228
1856	1	4	130
1857	2	5	286
1858	2	10	203
1859	2	8	416
1860	2	8	390

These missionaries were located as follows: in 1846, there were two in Arkansas, one in Florida, three in Kentucky, five in Missouri, one in North Carolina, one in Texas, and one in Virginia; in 1847, there were two in Arkansas, one in Florida, two in Kentucky, four in Missouri, one in Texas, one in Virginia, and one in Delaware; in 1848, there were two in Arkansas, two in Kentucky, one in Missouri, one in Texas, and one in Delaware; in 1849, there were one in Texas, one in New Mexico, and one in Delaware; in 1850, there were one in Missouri, one in New Mexico, and one in Delaware. From that year until the outbreak of war in 1861, missionaries of the Society were found only in Delaware and Missouri, with the latter generally having all but one of the missionaries shown in the chart.

The outbreak of the military struggle in 1861 widened the breach between the Home Mission Society and the Southern Baptist Convention. At the meeting of the Society in 1862, resolutions were passed condemning the South and expressing complete support for the government at Washington.²² In 1863, upon the occasion of the reorganization of the Society with view of returning to Southern fields, Secretary D. B. Purinton of the Southern District (comprising the South) spoke in sharp condemnation of Baptist leaders in the South who had been active in precipitating and continuing the strife.²³ Another speaker described the entire South as a vast home mission field.²⁴

On January 14, 1864, through the efforts of Senator Ira Harris,²⁵ the Society secured "full and formal authority . . . to take possession of every abandoned Baptist meeting house within the insurrectionary districts, and of every other Baptist church edifice in the hands of the Confederates."²⁶

The commanding generals were instructed to "furnish their executive officer, or agent, and his clerk, with transportation and subsistence when it can be done without prejudice to the service" ²⁷ The Society explained that this move was an effort to protect Baptist property in the South from marauders and, in some cases, from "others than Baptists" who had denied the Society's right to use them. ²⁸ The authorities were cordially thanked for their interest and co-operation "in the establishment of schools, and the reconstruction of Christian institutions, throughout the recovered portions of the South land" ²⁹ The Society appointed J. W. Parker of Boston "with authority to take possession of the property, and aid them in occupying it for the present with such missionaries or assistants as the condition of society around might demand, and the state of the treasury justify." ³⁰ The Board specifically asserted that this order covered only meeting-houses or Baptist church property that had been deserted by its former occupants, and was to be held and used only until civil authority could be restored. ³¹ During the first four months of this arrangement, about thirty edifices had been seized. As a further move to indicate the purity of its motives, the Society disclaimed

all interference with the independence of the churches, and all adjudication upon their loyalty, whether as corporations or individuals, and confines itself to its temporary use for the object to which it was devoted, and to preserve it for those to whom it shall belong when peace is restored. ³²

In 1864, a committee to report on the relations to the Society to the South could not reach an agreement.

SEPARATION AND CONFLICT

The Executive Board had passed a resolution on September 27, 1863, inviting the co-operation of Baptist brethren in the South.³³ A majority of the committee in 1864 favored this resolution, but the minority wanted "to declare plainly, that while ready and rejoicing to forget the past and forgive the wrong on evidence of contrition, they can have no fellowship with former slaveholders and rebels, save as they confess their sins, and 'bring forth fruit meet for repentance.'" Both reports were tabled, so in reality the generous attitude of the Board was not reflected by the whole Society.³⁴ The general impression was given that the Society and the Missionary Union were demanding a formal profession of loyalty and repentance before fellowship in Christian labor could be resumed.³⁵

The attitude of Southern Baptists during this period faced in a different direction. As ministers and laymen, Baptists entered enthusiastically into the Confederate army. Baptist state conventions made strong pronouncements upon the justice of the Southern position.³⁶ The Southern Baptist Convention of 1861 reviewed the whole issue and passed ten resolutions which expressed complete sympathy with and support for the Confederacy.³⁷ This was their continued attitude throughout the remainder of the conflict.

The work of the Society in the South from 1861 to 1865 may be noted in the following chart;

Year	No. of states	Missionaries	Weeks of missionary labor
1861	2	7	289
1862	3	9	217
1863	8	15	442
1864	11	29	779
1865	12	70	1843

These missionaries were distributed as follows: in 1861, six in New Mexico and one in Delaware; in 1862, three in South Carolina, five in New Mexico, and one in Missouri; in 1863, one each in Delaware, Kentucky, Louisiana, and Tennessee, two each in New Mexico and Virginia, three in Missouri, and four in South Carolina; in 1864, one each in Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Louisiana, and North Carolina, two each in New Mexico and Mississippi, three in South Carolina, four in Virginia, six in Missouri, and seven in Tennessee; in 1865, one each in Alabama, Arkansas, and Kentucky, two each in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Delaware, three in New Mexico, four each in Georgia and South Carolina, five in North Carolina, seven in Tennessee and Virginia, and twenty-three in Missouri.

The war period brought to the fore three new movements of great significance in the activity of the Society in the South. These began with the interest of the Society in the freedmen, but branched out into work for the other races also. The first movement was that of evangelizing the freedmen in the South; the second looked to the education of the freedmen; the third was the development of a department for assisting in the erection of church edifices which included the South in its beneficence. The following three chapters will deal with these movements separately from their beginnings through 1894. During the war period domestic Indian missions were transferred to the attention of the Society by the Missionary Union. As far as relations with the South are concerned, this special phase of activity by the Society plays no unusual part, and Indian missions will be included in the discussions of the evangelistic, educational, and church edifice movements of the following chapters.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIETY'S EVANGELISTIC PROGRAM IN THE SOUTH

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The Society began missionary operations in the older Southern states in 1862 after a hiatus of over a decade. This cessation of effort in the South after the separation in 1845 was subsequently viewed as simply an expediency, while the re-entrance into the South was called the assertion of "its original birth-right to the cultivation of this entire continent"¹ In January, 1862, the Board sent Howard Osgood to the vicinity of Fortress Monroe, Virginia, to survey the conditions existing among the emancipated slaves. In June of that year two additional missionaries were appointed to St. Helena Island, and in September one missionary went to Beaufort, South Carolina, and one labored as an itinerant in that area.² Despite the desire of the Society to take up work again in the South, its first response called attention to the fact that its financial means were "inadequate to the necessities of any new territory," and that no justification could be found for "attempting such extension of operation."³ A committee reported to the Society, however, that the advancing of Union armies to set free the bondmen was "a most impressive indication that Divine Providence is about to break the chains of the enslaved millions in our land" and would provide opportunity to reach with the gospel "vast multitudes who had hitherto been shut out from its pure teachings." The imminent reorganization of the "the social and religious state of the South" constituted the Divine Hand "beckoning us on to the occupancy of a field broader,

more important, more promising than has ever yet invited our toils." A resolution was passed providing that immediate steps be taken to send missionaries and teachers both to free and bond throughout the whole Southern section.⁴ In the following year an extensive survey was made of the religious condition of the freedmen around Washington, D. C., and the report showed them to be greatly in need of attention.⁵ The field of the Society was divided into four districts (each with a missionary at its head), one of which was the Southern District that included all of the territory south of New York.⁶

Two significant beginnings were made at the meeting of the Executive Board on September 27, 1863. A resolution was adopted to secure collections for a special Freedman's Fund to carry on this work in the South.⁷ A month later at a meeting in Boston, New England Baptists heartily endorsed this move and began raising money for the purpose.⁸ Furthermore, the Executive Board passed a resolution urging the co-operation of the Baptist brethren in the South in the spreading of the gospel. Pursuant to this resolution Edward Lathrop toured the churches, both white and colored, along the southern Atlantic coast. Some welcomed him; more did not. The Society said:

If the proffered hand is accepted, well. If it is scorned, our mission remains unchanged. That mission we are striving faithfully to fulfill. The work must not be stopped by State lines, nor sectional hatreds, nor complexion of man⁹

The first two years of this initial decade of work, then, found the Society developing its organization for Southern expansion, beginning the task with great

enthusiasm, and offering "the hand of Christian co-operation." Typical of the enthusiastic attitude of the Society was the address of Secretary D. B. Purinton of the Southern District, who called upon the Society in an eloquent address to bend its efforts to evangelize the South.¹⁰

As the Society began the task, it found that much had already been accomplished in the evangelization of the colored race through the work of Southern Baptists prior to this time. The Society estimated that one-third of the millions of freedmen had Baptist predilections,¹¹ and complained that Methodists, Congregationalists, Unitarians, and Universalists had poured into some distinctly Baptist areas in an effort to win the colored people who, said the Society, were already Baptist.¹² A great deal of work had been done among the colored through various avenues.¹³ There was still much to be done,¹⁴ but the Society felt that in the group of colored Baptists preachers already serving, it had "a class of men who, by the simple purity of their lives, have won the confidence, love, and respect of their people."¹⁵

From 1864 to 1871 (the remainder of the Society's first decade since re-entering the South), Southern Baptists expressed unmistakable disapproval of the Society's program in the South. The early enthusiasm by the Board of the Society in extending a friendly hand southward was somewhat dampened both by division within the Society and by the attitude of the South. It has been noted that a resolution approving the generous spirit of the Board could not be passed when the Society met in 1864.¹⁶ However, the end of hostilities just a month before the meeting of the Society in 1865 seemed to quiet dissident voices within the Society. It was reported that "a very large portion of the colored

people of the South are Baptists in their church relations, or their religious preference, . . .” and a call was made for vigorous support.¹⁷ Enthusiasm was again manifested in the passing of a resolution that no strict construction of the Society’s constitution would deter it from the complete evangelization of the freedmen.¹⁸

The end of military hostilities seemed to release the indignation of many Southern Baptists relative to the program of the Society in the South. Having prosecuted thier religious work for two decades through the agency of a denominational convention, the various Southern state conventions of Baptists conceived of a southern territorial unity that would limit missionary labor there to the individual state conventions and to the Southern Baptist Convention. Southern Baptist bodies that met in 1865 were practically unanimous in voting non-affiliation with the Society. The Virginia Baptist Asociation and others urged their churches “to decline any co-operation or fellowship with any of the missionaries, ministers, or agents of the American Baptist Home Mission Society.”¹⁹ In Kentucky the state Baptists Association voted to continue its relations with the Southern Convention, while in Missouri a majority voted in a similar way.²⁰ The South was especially displeased because the Society, under the authority of the goverment, had seized Southern church property. This was called unbaptistic and illegal. Virginia, in particular, was incensed at this action.²¹ In reply to demands that the Society recognize the territorial integrity of the South, Secretary J. S. Backus wrote a vigorous article asserting the right of the Society to carry on mission activity in the South. The founders of the Society, he said, were from *all* parts of the United States, not just

the North; and the Southern Baptist Convention was simply a creature of secession, like the Southern Confederacy. Carrying his comparison further he said:

And now if it is politically and morally wrong to support 'the Southern Confederacy,' how can it be religiously right to support 'the Southern Baptist Convention?' If the Government is to be one, why should not the Baptist denomination be one, and, as a united people, give their influence and example in support of a united Government? Is not the spirit which would have it otherwise, disloyal? Would not the spirit which seeks now to perpetuate the Southern Baptist Convention, were it in its power, reproduce and sustain the Southern Confederacy?²²

In the following month Jeremiah Chaplin, a missionary of the Society laboring at New Orleans, Louisiana, advised the Society to stop worrying about getting the South to co-operate, for, he said, they will not do it. Chaplin believed that the Society had a right to work in the South since it was a national society and its constitution included the South.²³

Southern Baptists also took exception to the attitude of J. M. Pendleton, formerly of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, who urged the Society in a prepared address to cultivate Kentucky and Tennessee as a mission area by the use of Northern missionaries. He asserted that it would be nonsense to use Southern men for this task until they should "repent and do works worthy of repentance."²⁴

The clash of views illustrating the Southern territorial conception formally occurred in 1867

and 1868. Two questions had been agitated since the close of the war. The first concerned what attitude Southern Baptists would take toward the program of the Society in the South; the second was an effort to by-pass this issue by asking if there could not be an organic union between the Society and the Southern Convention.

The attitude of the Southern Baptist Convention toward the program of the Society in the South was clearly set out in 1867. After passing a series of resolutions expressing interest in the religious instruction of the freedmen, the Convention specifically defined what it considered to be a basis of rapprochement with the Society. It resolved:

That this Convention having learned, though informally and unofficially, that the American Baptist Home Mission Society is desirous of aiding the the religious instruction of this class of our population, the Domestic Mission Board be directed to make known to that Society our willingness to receive aid in this work, by appropriations made to the Boards of this Convention.²⁵

In the following year a committee from the Society visited the Southern Baptist Convention and offered a resolution of amity and fellowship.²⁶ A committee from the Convention framed a resolution which welcomed the "brethren from abroad—brethren laboring in their own field"²⁷ The Southern resolution continued by taking a phrase from the message of the Society's committee relative to work among the freedmen, and asserting,

Could the Home Mission Board (the Society),

while conforming to its constitutional obligations, render us assistance here, we are sure that much good might be effected so far as this class is concerned Conscious of the risk of being misunderstood, and restricted in utterance by a sense of the proper and the becoming, we yet feel constrained by the great interests at stake to renew the suggestion made in the concluding report of the Minutes of 1867. The Domestic Mission Board have peculiar advantages for prosecuting this work—experience, proximity to the field, interest in the people—and they are willing to receive aid in its conduct.²⁸

The Southern Convention appointed representatives to meet with the Society in 1868. The chairman of the group was J. B. Jeter and with him were John A. Broadus, Richard Fuller, Basil Manly, Jr., J. R. Graves, and H. A. Tupper, some of the South's ablest men. During the exercises Broadus (who was known in the North for his catholic attitudes and conciliatory views) addressed the Society relative to the freedman task, and suggested that only missionaries selected by the Southern Board be sent among the Southern people, or, if such were selected by the Society, they should be approved by the Southern Board.²⁹ This suggestion was vigorously rejected by the Northern leaders on the ground that they had a right and an obligation to send their missionaries to any point without endorsement by the South. Manly later remarked in an address before the Society,

We ask for help and co-operation, but if you repel our confidence, our heart of love which

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we proffer, we will at least not oppose whatever you may choose to do³⁰

The fact that this attitude represented the Southern Convention's continuing conception of co-operation with the Society is given credence by the statement to that effect almost thirty years later by Secretary H. L. Morehouse of the Society. He remarked that this was not the kind of co-operation that the Society desired.³¹

Perhaps as a counter-proposal to the one made by Broadus, the report of the Society for 1869 contained a suggestion, apparently by Secretary J. S. Backus, that the Southern Board should nominate such men as they wished for missionaries, and if such nomination was approved by the Society in the case of any of them, a commission would be issued and the missionary would report to both Northern and Southern agencies. At the same time, the South would have the right to appoint such missionaries as the Society might reject, or any other missionaries whom they could support. Similarly, the Society could appoint such missionaries as it thought proper, and these would be accountable only to the Society.³² In determining the ideological viewpoint of Southern Baptists, it is significant to notice that they did not respond favorably to this compromise because they wanted no other general body than their own to appoint missionaries in the South.

The issue, then, was joined. The Society refused to recognize the South as constituting a territorial unity in which the Southern Convention alone could work. The Southern Convention, on the other hand, insisted that it should be considered the only general organization for missions within the territorial limits of the South, and that any work done

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by "brethren from abroad" should be channeled through its Board.

The second matter that was agitated during this decade and throughout all the period of this study concerned the possibility of the organic union of the Society and the Southern Convention. In 1870, a series of resolutions on this subject were introduced and debated in the Southern Baptist Convention. One committee was appointed to consider the matter of Sunday School co-operation with the Northern group, and its report sounded the motif that continued throughout the session. Christian co-operation was promised, but for reasons "apart from the action of any other body, past or prospective, and growing solely out of the condition and wants of the South," organic union was refused. Diffusion, not centralization, was called the true law of progress.³³ J. B. Jeter was chairman of another committee to consider the whole question of co-operation with the North. This report commended the stand taken by the Sunday School committee and added:

All are agreed that the Convention and its Boards should be maintained in their integrity. No measures which endanger their existence or diminish their efficiency, are to be tolerated. All the energies of Southern Baptists should be directed to their support and the increase of their usefulness.

The committee said that this issue had taken a great deal of time in the last three sessions of the Convention, and that this action should dispose of it.³⁴

In the face of demands by the Southern Convention in 1867 and 1868 and the regular disavowals of organic union, the Society simply continued its work

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in the South, making its appeal for contributions directly to the people and to state conventions, rather than to the Southern Convention. In 1868 a call was made by the Society for co-operation. It was suggested that some Baptist state conventions were already co-operating in a method whereby "one general missionary is able to serve both Societies (the state convention and the Home Mission Society), and, having the confidence and support of both Boards, he is able to accomplish as much as two would, were they working apart or against each other."³⁵ A resolution (which had already been approved in 1864 and 1866) was again presented, in which "all State Conventions, and other organizations for Home Mission purposes" were urged to co-operate in collecting funds for the Society, and to assist in pointing out desirable fields for cultivation and suitable men for appointment. A copy of the report of missionary work done by such men would be sent to the state in which they worked.³⁶ The fact that this appeal was directed in part to the Southern states may be seen in the adoption by the Society's Board of a scale of proposed receipts and appropriations for each state. This table included each Southern state as a part of the plan. It shows that Southern white Baptists were contemplated as constituents, since the freedmen could not possibly have contributed the suggested receipts, and it indicates that the Society was willing to appropriate almost twice as much for the Southern states as the states would be asked to raise in receipts. The table (for Southern states only) follows:

State	Proposed receipts	Proposed expenditures
Missouri	\$10,000	\$15,000
Arkansas	1,000	3,000
Texas	1,000	3,000

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Louisiana	1,000	3,000
Mississippi	1,000	3,000
Alabama	2,000	4,000
Georgia	3,000	5,000
Florida	1,000	2,500
South Carolina	1,000	3,000
North Carolina	2,000	4,000
Tennessee	2,500	5,000
Kentucky	7,000	8,000
Virginia	7,000	10,000
Maryland	3,000	5,000
Delaware	1,000	2,000
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TOTAL	\$43,000	\$72,000 ³⁷

The aggressive entrance of the Society into the Southern field is suggested by the fact that in 1869 one-third of all its missionary force was in the South.³⁸ The following year the Society reported that both races were being helped in the South, and that missionaries had been supported in every Southern state except Texas, where appointments had been recently approved.³⁹ In 1871, at the meeting of the Society in Chicago, some of the prominent Southern leaders were invited to attend and to speak. The "sharp discussion" that followed their messages served to underline the ideological differences that existed relative to freedman missions.⁴⁰

It is clear, then, in the decade after the Society had re-entered the Southern field, that Southern Baptists resented the evangelistic program being carried on, although for the most part the sentiment expressed by Basil Manly, Jr. in his address before the Society in 1868 was practiced—" . . . we will at least not oppose whatever you may choose to do"⁴¹ The South would have preferred

to have the Society work through the Southern Convention in evangelizing the freedmen, and three times appealed to the Society to recognize the Southern territorial conception. When this idea was rejected, the Southern leaders did what they could with limited means. In the midst of appalling economic conditions they not only expressed their deep interest in winning the freedmen, but also employed missionaries to that end⁴² and encouraged pastors to continue the ante-bellum practice of ministering to the colored group.⁴³ In 1868, they reported that thirty churches had been constituted among the freedmen; twenty-four meeting houses had been begun and ten of them finished. Total baptisms were 1,918 for the entire South, of which 611 were freedmen.⁴⁴ No meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention and rarely one by a Southern state convention took place in which the duty of Christian toward the colored race was not "commended and zealously enforced."⁴⁵ As indicated before, the Home Mission Society, after a brief hesitation, became whole-heartedly active in a vigorous mission program in the South, but also constantly endeavored to secure a union with the Southern Convention.

The following chart will give a picture of the evangelistic program of the Society in the South from 1866 to the close of the first decade in 1871.⁴⁶

Year	States	No. of missionaries	Weeks of missionary labor
1866	12	94	4179
1867	13	92	3176
1868	13	77	2427
1869	14	64	2202
1870	15	71	2102
1871	12	96	2768

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In order to show the scope of the work done during this time, three of the years are analyzed according to location of the missionaries.

Year	State	No. of mis- sionaries	Weeks of mis- sionary labor
1866	Alabama	2	74
	Arkansas	3	108
	Delaware	3	104
	Georgia	3	96
	Louisiana	2	26
	Mississippi	2	91
	Missouri	34	1340
	North Carolina	10	358
	New Mexico	1	52
	South Carolina	3	130
	Tennessee	14	444
	Virginia	17	456
1868	Arkansas	2	65
	Delaware	4	169
	District of Columbia	3	101
	Florida	2	20
	Georgia	7	236
	Kentucky	1	26
	Louisiana	1	19
	Mississippi	2	91
	Missouri	16	529
	North Carolina	5	173
	South Carolina	8	221
	Tennessee	10	313
1871	Virginia	16	464
	Alabama	3	87
	Delaware	4	87
	Florida	6	273
	Georgia	5	234
	Kentucky	1	52

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Louisiana	2	91
Mississippi	2	104
Missouri	11	297
North Carolina	13	310
South Carolina	11	337
Tennessee	5	116
Texas	2	117
Virginia	31	663

The end of civil conflict and the period of Reconstruction witnessed the withdrawal of the freedmen from the white Baptist churches to form their own organizations. These either connected themselves immediately with the Society or, with the co-operation of missionaries from the Society, organized their own associations for co-operation with the Society.⁴⁷

The American Baptist Free Mission Society, mentioned in connection with the abolitionist movement, was also active during this period. Following the war this Society sent missionaries among the freedmen of the South.⁴⁸ In 1868, this Society looked toward organic consolidation with the Consolidated Missionary Convention (of colored Baptists) and the American Baptist Missionary Union.⁴⁹ The same interest is expressed by the report for 1869.⁵⁰ In 1870, the Free Society met in convention with the Consolidated Convention, and R. de Baptiste, the colored president of the Consolidated Convention, was elected president of the Free Mission Society. Resolutions favoring union of the two bodies were passed.⁵¹ In the following year the Free Mission Society authorized its Board to perfect arrangements for such union.⁵²

The decade from 1872 to 1881 raised the hopes of many in the American Baptist Home Mission Society that progress was being made toward the

goal of uniting the home mission forces of Northern and Southern Baptists. There came an integration of the organizational structure of the Southern work into the regular operations of the Society. In 1873, missions to the freedmen were placed in a new category. Instead of being supported from a designated fund only, these operations were to be conducted from the funds of the regular treasury.⁵³ On February 1, 1879, S. W. Marston was elected Superintendent of Missions to the Freedmen for the purpose of enlarging the work and securing more fully the co-operation of Southern Baptists.⁵⁴

In addition to strengthening its organization for operations in the South, the Society used its annual reports to further the cause of denominational unity. In 1872, the annual report spoke of letters from the South urging union. Three excerpts were quoted from unnamed Southern writers, who indicated that there were many in the South desiring union.⁵⁵ The report in the following year continued this motif by referring to the need "among millions of the poorer class of whites in the South, who cannot read and write." It said that no appointments made by the Board were "voted through with greater heartiness or unanimity" than those for the benefit of the whites in the South, and that Southern white missionaries were being appointed—"brethren they are in some instances of rare worth and piety and devotion." Such brethren the Board *delights* to sustain.⁵⁶ In 1874, at the meeting of the Society, the venerable Richard Fuller, deeply loved Southern leader, offered a resolution that prayed for a day when "from every quarter the tribes of our Israel shall assemble in one harmonious council."⁵⁷ In the annual report of that year an extensive survey was made showing that in gifts and interest the South was participating to an

increased degree. In 1859-60, the income of the Society had come from nineteen states and territories; in 1868-69, it had come from thirty-two states and territories; while in 1873-74, a total of forty-six states and territories had contributed funds.⁵⁸ In 1869, nine Southern states had sent funds; in 1874, fifteen Southern states had assisted. The report compared gifts for the current year with those of five years before, and in every case increases were apparent for each of the Southern states. Although freedmen were responsible for the larger part of the increase, Southern whites had also made additional gifts. The Society reiterated its purpose to make the work effective, not only among the freedmen, but among the white population in the South also, and urged that it should have "a hundred thousand dollars this current year to expend upon the feeble churches of whites and blacks in the Southern and Southwestern states."⁵⁹ The same report rejoiced at the cordiality of the Southern brethren. Both white and colored were appointed as missionaries; the church edifice fund endeavored to help churches of both races. A friendly reaction to this program was noted among Southern white Baptists.⁶⁰ In 1878, a committee from the Society made an extensive tour of the South and conferred with leading white Baptists at Marion, Alabama; Atlanta, Georgia; Raleigh, North Carolina; and Richmond, Virginia. Everywhere the committee found

the felt and expressed conviction that the duty of American Baptists to the millions of Freedmen can never be rightly performed until the power for good of Northern and Southern Baptists is heartily and systematically continuously combined for their

benefit.⁶¹

Furthermore, the closing years of this decade brought a surge of requests to the Society from southern and southwestern states for various kinds of official co-operation in missions.⁶² The movement was begun by the Georgia Baptist Convention in 1879 when an agreement was concluded with the Society for conducting missions among the colored population; in 1880, the Arkansas Baptist Convention made advances toward co-operation and subsequently entered into auxiliary relations with the Society; in 1881, two white Baptists conventions of Texas approved compacts with the Society for mission work in their state. Although not under formal agreement, the Society had already entered Indian Territory in greatly increased strength.⁶³

These encouraging facts in the immediate past were augmented by hopes for the future. Preparations were being made for the Jubilee Meeting of the Society to be held in 1882. True to its concept of the scope of a missionary society, the Home Mission Society made plans to send a formal invitation to all Baptists state conventions. At the September meeting of the Executive Board in 1881, the Corresponding Secretary presented a specimen letter with the suggestion that a similar letter, appropriately modified to apply to the particular recipients, be sent to each state convention. The specimen was addressed to the North Carolina Baptist State Convention. It recited some of the blessings that the Society had scattered during the previous fifty years, and gave specific figures relative to work in the South and in North Carolina. Interest was expressed in the activities of the state organization, and it was hoped that the recipients were interested in the

work of the Society. The letter invited the convention to appoint five representatives to attend a Jubilee meeting of the Society in May, 1882, "for joint conference concerning the strengthening and the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom on this continent."⁶⁴ For the most part, the letters were favorably received by Baptist state conventions in the South. At the Tennessee Baptist Convention, for example, the letter touched off the question of applying to the Society for formal co-operation in state missions. A motion was made to that effect, but it was tabled after a warm discussion. Instead of five, the convention voted that ten delegates from Tennessee should attend the Jubilee.⁶⁵ Subsequently it was reported that representatives attended the Jubilee from Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Indian Territory, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Two were enrolled as representing the Southern Baptist Convention.⁶⁶

These favorable omens of unity, however, were not reflected in the official attitude of the Southern Baptist Convention. In 1875, one of the utterances of the Convention asserted that

the emancipation and enfranchisement of the colored people, without adequate preparation for the responsible duties of citizenship, devolved an imperative obligation on those who precipitated this change, to take effective measures for preventing what was intended as a boon from becoming a curse,

and called Northern Christians to "patient labor, comprehensive and far-reaching plans, and a bene-

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ficence far beyond what has yet been evoked for the elevation and salvation of the colored people.”⁶⁷ Although the issue of union with the Society was constantly before the Southern Baptist Convention during this decade, there was never any serious possibility of that action being taken. In 1880, Corresponding Secretary H. L. Morehouse made a critical study of the extent to which Southern Baptists had offered to co-operate. In a “fraternal word” to them, he said that *individuals* in the South had co-operated, but, with the exception of Georgia, there had been little *organized* and *financial* co-operation. This, he said, was the thing desired.⁶⁸ The reports of the Southern Baptist Convention continued to show a definite territorial consciousness.

The evangelistic program of the Society in the South from 1872 to 1881 is shown in the following chart:

Year	States	No. of missionaries	Weeks of missionary labor
1872	14	96	2835
1873	11	31	1113*
1874	15	36	1168
1875	15	47	1612
1876	13	38	1553
1877	12	38	1446
1878	13	38	1268
1879	12	38	1339
1880	13	41	1297
1881	13	60	1742

* After 1872, students were not employed during summer vacations.

In order that the scope of the work may be glimpsed, the following chart analyzes three years

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of this decade:

Year	State	No. of mis- sionaries	Weeks of mis- sionary labor
1872	Alabama	4	130
	Delaware	3	117
	Florida	3	117
	Georgia	4	117
	Indian Territory	6	260
	Kentucky	1	52
	Louisiana	1	52
	Mississippi	1	26
	Missouri	15	559
	North Carolina	18	291
	South Carolina	7	290
	Tennessee	4	156
	Texas	1	52
	Virginia	28	616
1877	Alabama	4	151
	Arkansas	1	52
	Delaware	2	91
	Florida	1	5
	Georgia	5	126
	Indian Territory	12	549
	Kentucky	2	78
	Louisiana	1	4
	Missouri	4	182
	South Carolina	1	39
	Tennessee	3	52
	Virginia	2	117
1881	Delaware	2	65
	District of Columbia	2	52
	Florida	3	117
	Georgia	7	200
	Indian Territory	15	539
	Maryland	1	39

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Mississippi	1	52
Missouri	7	169
New Mexico	2	78
North Carolina	1	39
South Carolina	1	13
Texas	14	293
Virginia	4	86

The succeeding period (1882 to 1894) opened with an aggressive challenge by E. T. Winkler, president of the Home Mission Board of the Southern Convention. He asserted the doctrine of the territorial unity of the South and looked with alarm at the "intrusion" of the Society, especially in its alignment for mission work in Texas.⁶⁹ The remaining years until the Fortress Monroe conference of 1894 were filled with constant controversy between the Society, through its official publication, and Baptist denominational newspapers in the South. Growing out of friction in Missouri, the Society made a direct appeal to the Southern Convention for unification of the work.⁷⁰ Instead of bringing unification, however, this friction, augmented by related factors, formed the background for the compromise of Fortress Monroe in 1894, ending an era in American Baptist history.

The following chart shows the evangelistic work of the Society in the South during this period:

Year	States	No. of missionaries	Weeks of missionary labor
1882	13	67	1748
1883	16	87	3019
1884	15	88	2745
1885	17	86	2721
1886	17	73	2064

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1887	14	43	1402
1888	15	51	1474
1889	17	59	1832
1890	18	61	2068
1891	18	64	2251
1892	17	65	2212
1893	17	89	3035
1894	18	112	3521

The following analysis of the work at representative intervals will suggest the scope of the program:

Year	States	No. of missionaries	Weeks of missionary labor
1882	Delaware	3	65
	District of Columbia	2	52
	Florida	3	117
	Georgia	7	200
	Indian Territory	15	539
	Maryland	1	39
	Mississippi	1	52
	Missouri	7	179
	New Mexico	2	78
	North Carolina	1	39
	South Carolina	1	13
	Texas	20	289
1887	Virginia	4	86
	Arkansas	2	40
	Delaware	3	65
	District of Columbia	1	52
	Florida	1	52
	Georgia	1	8
	Indian Territory	15	496
	Kentucky	2	104
	Louisiana	1	52
	Missouri	3	156

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	New Mexico	4	74
	North Carolina	1	9
	South Carolina	1	52
	Tennessee	1	52
	Texas	7	190
1894	Alabama	1	11
	Arkansas	1	52
	Delaware	5	153
	District of Columbia	1	56
	Florida	1	52
	Indian Territory	39	1117
	Kentucky	2	65
	Louisiana	1	52
	Maryland	1	52
	Mississippi	1	13
	Missouri	3	117
	New Mexico	6	247
	North Carolina	2	48
	Oklahoma Territory	25	800
	South Carolina	5	155
	Tennessee	1	65
	Texas	5	221
	Virginia	12	245

CHAPTER VII

THE SOCIETY'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM IN THE SOUTH



The principal contribution of the Home Mission Society in the South lay in the field of education, primarily of the freedman, but of the Indian also.¹ As early as 1853 the Society took action to interpret its constitution so that Christian teachers might be supported when the funds were specifically designated for that purpose.² The committee that favored re-entering the South in 1862 visualized the educational task as well as the missionary.³ Evangelism was the initial effort, but it was soon found that the educational needs beacons more emphatically. In September, 1863, the establishment of the Freedmen's Fund looked toward instruction of the colored people to "enable them to read the Bible and to become self-directing churches."⁴ The question was raised in 1866 as to whether the education of the freedmen should be entrusted to another organization than the Home Mission Society. Other Baptists already were beginning this task under the corporate name of The National Theological Institute. After rivalry and controversy for several years, a committee was appointed by the Society in 1868 to reach an agreement with the Institute, and as a result the Society assumed the entire task. The third and final report of the Institute is found in the annual report of the Society for 1869. In 1870, Congress was petitioned by the Society to annul the Institute's charter.

Educational missions by the Society among the freedmen did not arouse the opposition of white Baptists in the South that was so pronounced against

the evangelistic program. Perhaps the Southern group realized that they did not have the financial means to establish the schools for the colored, but thought that they were able to carry out the evangelistic task. At any rate, after an initial period of shock, Southern white Baptists began to voice appreciation for the Society's schools. The atmosphere of political Reconstruction during this decade brought handicaps to the efforts of any Northern group, however benevolent the aims might be. The Society's effort in 1867 to find schools already established in the South which would be willing to take freedmen ministerial students met with failure.⁵ It was reported in 1869, however, that "in the main, the people have received us gladly, and many are co-operating with us heartily."⁶ The Society's annual report for 1870 contained exhortations by three anonymous Southern men in favor of freedman education. The establishment of one first class training school for colored ministers in each Southern state except Delaware and Maryland (which could be served by Wayland Seminary) was urged. Some thought that these schools were to be available for both freedmen and whites.⁷ In the report of 1871, the Society remarked that "to this work Southern men of the choicest Christian spirit cordially welcome us," and quoted a letter from an unnamed Southern Baptist complimenting the program. "This we believe to be the sentiment of all wise and good men throughout the South," concluded the report.⁸

Statistics for the period from 1862 to 1866 covering specifically the educational task are not available. In this early period a clear-cut distinction between a missionary for evangelization and a teacher for the school room was not made. The record shows fifty-nine teachers but no organized school in 1867.

Not until 1870 is there a report on the number of schools that had been established. Six were shown in that year and seven in the next. The beginning of educational work in institutional form seems to come clearly into focus around 1872.⁹

The more favorable attitude of the South toward educational activity among the freedmen by the Society was revealed in the second decade of its labors. As in the case of the evangelistic phase, it was the hope of the Society that it might progressively enlist the South in the task. It disclaimed sectional reflections in the schools, and said that "not a doctrine or sentiment is intended to be taught, to which any Baptists could consistently object."¹⁰ Some of the prominent Southern Baptists papers praised the schools. In 1872, one of the editors of the *Religious Herald* of Virginia highly commended the educational activity of the Society, and in the following year, Editor A. E. Dickerson of "the leading Baptist paper of the South" (the *Religious Herald*) proposed editorially that "the Baptists of Virginia shall . . . enter formally upon this great department of Christian enterprise." He concluded by making a contribution of \$500 to the Society in behalf of the schools.¹¹ The *Western Recorder* of Kentucky looked with favor upon the education of the freedman.¹² Leading Baptists in the South openly expressed their approval. Dickinson has been mentioned. E. T. Winkler commended the Society for its work.¹³ The South Carolina Baptist Convention appointed a committee to visit Benedict Institute, a school of the Society in the state, with the result that the school was strongly recommended to the people for financial support.¹⁴ The Southern Baptist Convention officially praised the schools and adopted a policy of sustaining students in them.¹⁵ The Society regularly received

contributions from the white Baptists in the South for this work.¹⁶ Reports continued to come to the Society that the schools were winning their way into the hearts of the Southerners.¹⁷ Students from the schools were appointed by the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention as missionaries to Africa.¹⁸

Related to the education efforts for the freedmen and later incorporated into the organization of the schools of the Society was the practice of holding Ministers' Institutes. These institutes aimed to gather a group of uneducated ministers and deacons of the freedmen for a short study (usually about ten days) of fundamental doctrines. As early as May, 1873, one of the Northern Baptist newspapers commented editorially upon the remarkable efforts along this line put forth by E. W. Warren of Atlanta, Georgia. Not only would Warren provide a faculty to conduct an institute of a week or two, but would search the area surrounding the town where the institute was to be held and find those who should attend. After securing their promises of co-operation, he would transport them to the institute, find homes for them in case the distance forbade daily travel, keep them happy throughout the period of study, and see that they were returned to their homes.¹⁹ He was so effective that in 1875 the Southern Convention officially endorsed his program.²⁰ Warren urged the extensive use of these institutes throughout the South,²¹ and in the following year this activity was begun by the Home Mission Board of the Southern Convention.²² The Society also became interested in this project. At the Philadelphia anniversary in 1875, a committee on Freedmen's Work recommended that the Board encourage white ministers of the South to hold these institutes for the class of people who

could not attend any of the Society's schools, and that the incidental expenses involved would be paid by the Society.²³ In 1878, the Society voted to co-operate with the Southern Convention in providing Ministers' Institutes for the freedmen.²⁴ It had been the intention of the Society in the previous year to appoint a general superintendent for missions to the freedmen, but due to lack of funds and the inability to find the proper man, this had not been accomplished. Furthermore, the Society desired to ascertain if the Southern Baptist Convention would co-operate in the holding of these institutes. In response to a query, Corresponding Secretary W. H. McIntosh of the Home Mission Board of the Southern Convention said that he thought that such co-operation could be effected, but that the matter would be laid before the next meeting of the Board.²⁵ During November 1878, a delegation from the Society toured the leading cities of the South to ascertain the amount of co-operation that could be expected. At Atlanta, Georgia, a group of leading white Baptists promised their support; at Marion, Alabama, the Home Mission Board cordially welcomed them and "pledged themselves to co-operation in the important measures under discussion with a heartiness which was most gratifying."²⁶ The committee generously remarked that

North or South, we have never anywhere, nor by anybody, heard the claims of the colored people on the sympathy and help of the white brethren more intelligently, or heartily, or strongly urged, than in the meetings of the Southern Board.²⁷

Baptist leaders in Raleigh, North Carolina, and Richmond, Virginia, were also visited, and in each

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place cordial expressions of co-operation were heard.²⁸

At the meeting of this committee with the Home Mission Board in Marion, Alabama, attended by representatives of the Alabama Colored Baptist Convention, a formal agreement was reached on six points, as follows: (1) that Ministers' Institutes were necessary for those unable to secure regular theological education; (2) that there should be concert of action between representatives of the two races in the South and brethren of the Society; (3) that a superintendent for this work was needed; (4) that the South will co-operate in the program and with this superintendent; (5) that arrangements for beginning the task should be made speedily; (6) that some sort of printed manual of instruction should be prepared in order to give outline and uniformity to the studies. This program was unanimously adopted by the Board of the Southern Convention on November 27, 1878,²⁹ and on February 1, 1879, S. W. Marston was appointed Superintendent of Missions to the Freedmen. His duties included, among other things, the visiting of the schools of the Society, counseling with the teachers, attending colored conventions and associations, inaugurating institutes, seeking out new openings for labor, and enlisting the co-operation of the whites in the South.³⁰ Although not a Southern man, Marston compromised his influence with the Society at the first anniversary after his appointment by showing a Southern trend in his thinking.³¹ His reports indicated that he had been receiving the co-operation that had been promised.³² In the first full year after this program was begun, it was reported that 1119 ministers and deacons had participated in thirty-three institutes, and that every Southern state had been reached with one institute or more of about three day's duration.³³ The Society

made a major organizations change in 1881 as to the method of superintending these operations. Marston was removed as superintendent and the work was geared into the regular educational and missionary program of the Society. The new plan provided that the principal of each freedman school should arrange for Biblical Institutes (the name was altered) during the summer vacation. The South was divided into ten districts, and the various professors were assigned to head them. Marston superintended the Biblical Institute work in the Southwest (Missouri, Western Louisiana, Texas, and Indian Territory), and was also commissioned to raise money for a new freedman school to be located at Marshall, Texas. It was further planned that "immediate steps be taken to secure the co-operation of Baptist State Conventions in the principal Southern States, for the appointment and support of a general missionary among the colored people of each State or the Districts aforesaid " The duties of this general missionary included co-operation in the Biblical Institutes, missionary work of every kind, attendance at various meetings and conventions in order to represent and forward the program of the Society, securing collections for the Society, seeking students for the schools, attending councils for ordination of colored ministers, assisting in finding pastorates for graduates of the schools, and keeping the Society advised on matters of interest.³⁴ It became evident that participation in this program meant not only co-operation in Biblical Institutes but in the total activity of the Society in the South also. Despite this long step toward complete co-operation, one of the first groups to endorse the plan was the white Mississippi Baptist Convention. For the most part, however, this plan caused most of the state Baptist conventions to veer

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away from further co-operation.

The educational program of the Society in the South experienced considerable growth in the period from 1872 to 1881. A summary of the activity for each year is given in the following chart:

Year	No. of Schools	Teachers	Pupils	Students for Ministry
1872	7	19	831	—
1873	7	25	695	—
1874	7	21	670	—
1875	7	26	795	—
1876	7	31	848	—
1877	7	41	871	195
1878	8	36	1056	—
1879	8	44	1041	—
1880	8	38	1191	—
1881	10	61	1592	371

The scope of this work may be seen in the following chart which gives a more detailed analysis of two representative years:

1872

School	Teach- ers	Pu- pils	Minis- terial
Wayland Seminary, Wash., D. C.	3	85	—
Richmond Institute, Richmond, Va.	5	135	—
Shaw Institute, Raleigh, N. C.	4	180	—
Benedict Institute, Columbia, S. C.	1	61	—
Augusta Institute, Augusta, Ga.	2	44	—
Leland Univ., New Orleans, La.	2	230	—
Nashville Instiute, Nashville, Tenn.	3	96	—

1877

Wayland Seminary, Wash., D. C.	3	93	—
Richmond Institute, Richmond, Va.,	4	95	62

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Shaw Institute, Raleigh, N. C.	11	240	47
Benedict Institute, Columbia, S. C.	4	101	14
Augusta Institute, Augusta, Ga.	4	84	51
Leland Univ., New Orleans, La.	9	129	22
Nashville Ins., Nashville, Tenn.	6	129	—

The period from 1882 to 1894 was one of tremendous expansion. Out of this mushroom-type growth, there came critical problems to the Society. These problems were not augmented directly by any change in attitude on the part of Southern Baptists. Their earlier appreciation for this type of work continued, and the Society was quite conscious of this.³⁵ It is true that at the very end of the period, there were some unpleasant incidents in connection with the educational operations of the Society in the South, but investigation showed that each of these was a local case and not the result of any widespread hostility to the education of the freedmen.³⁶

The freedmen themselves constituted a part of the Society's difficulties. Their Baptist state conventions began to develop factions, and divisions appeared imminent in Georgia and Texas.³⁷ Complaint was voiced about the way the freedmen handled finances. The Society found it necessary to stress the importance of correct business habits, "especially in the keeping and rendering of account of money received and expended for missionary and educational purposes."³⁸ The administration of the schools in the hands of colored trustees was criticized. In 1894, the Society was supporting twenty-eight Southern schools, of which fifteen were controlled entirely by colored trustees. The Society was aware of criticism about all fifteen of these schools. It was felt that employees in the schools had not been wisely selected. The colored trustees did not know what

constituted a good school, nor what their duties were. Personal bias played a large part in selecting teachers, and there was unwise interference in the management of the institutions.³⁹ With this in mind, the question was raised as to whether the chief responsibility of supporting the managing the schools should be placed upon the colored people themselves. The reply asserted that the colored people could not now support the schools, and that as long as support was provided by the Society, the control of the institutions must be maintained by the Society in order to justify the confidence of the contributors. When the colored race was able to provide the chief financial support, they should be given control, subject to supervision by the Society's officers.⁴⁰

The principal problems facing the Society in this period, however, rooted mainly in the wide expansion of its activities at a time when a financial depression was beginning the grip the entire country. It had become evident in the closing years of the ninth decade that the rate of increase in expenditures upon educational missions in the South was much greater than the growth of receipts for that purpose. By 1892, the Society was plainly distressed at the immediate prospects of serious embarrassment due to lack of funds.⁴¹ The increase from about a half a dozen school to almost three dozen in twenty years brought the statement that "unless permanent provision is soon made for maintenance and development of these school, certain disaster awaits them." In 1894, Secretary Morehouse said that education missions in the South were then requiring \$100,000 a year, and estimated that within five years this would increase to \$150,000 a year. The Society could not meet this demand without sacrificing other areas of work. The conclusion was:

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If no relief comes, the situation must grow worse rather than better. Indeed, now, confronted as we are with the prospect of the largest deficit ever known in a single year, embarrassment unspeakable waits us three months hence, in making plans and appropriations for the coming year. If the fixed expenses of the schools must be met, a reduction of forty or fifty percent must be made in missionary appropriations.⁴²

These difficulties provided an additional stimulus to other factors that led the Society to enter into an agreement with the Southern Convention in 1894. The hope was openly expressed that division in the various colored state conventions would be healed by the agreement of Fortress Monroe.⁴³ It was also hoped that the agreement would open the way for Baptists in the South to provide financial help for the task that had grown so large.

The following chart shows the tremendous expansion in educational activity by the Society in the South from 1882 to 1894:

Year	Schools	Teachers	Students for	
			Pupils	the Ministry
1883	13	79	2646	459
1884	16	89	3096	411
1885	16	105	3122	354
1886	16	102	3200	376
1887	16	102	2868	310
1888	17	108	3227	327
1889	19	112	3477	422
1890	19	124	3978	383
1891	24	137	5295	425
1892	27	154	5546	464

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1893	32	179	5375	423
1894	32	177	5357	432

The increasing scope may be glimpsed in the following analysis of three representative years:

1882

School	Teach- ers	Pu- pils	Minis- terial
Wayland Seminary, Wash., D. C.	6	133	49
Richmond Institute, Richmond, Va.	4	129	64
Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.	8	218	45
Benedict Institute, Columbia, S. C.	7	239	56
Atlanta Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.	4	113	54
Nashville Ins., Nashville, Tenn.	8	270	73
Natchez Seminary, Natchez, Miss.	4	149	31
Leland Univ., New Orleans, La.	4	194	21
Florida Institute, Live Oak, Fla.	3	117	7
Selma School, Selma, Ala.,	6	146	42
Indian Univ., Tahlequah, I. T.	2	68	4
Bishop College, Marshall, Tenn.	5	299	14
Kentucky Ins., Louisville, Ky.,	2	145	12

1887

Wayland Seminary, Wash., D. C.	7	141	39
Richmond Theo. Sem., Rich., Va.	4	56	54
Hartshorn Mem. Col., Rich., Va.,	4	94	Female
Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.	10	326	35
Benedict Ins., Columbia, S. C.	5	165	18
Atlanta Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.	4	146	50
Spellman Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.	22	646	Female
Roger Williams U., Nash. Tenn.	9	181	15
Jackson College, Jackson, Miss	5	215	25
Florida Ins., Live Oak, Fla.	5	100	8
Selma University, Selma, Ala.	7	230	20
Indian Univ., Muskegee, I. T.	3	69	6
Cherokee Acad., Tahlequah, I. T.	2	104	—
Creek Freman Sc., Tullehassee, I.T.	4	74	—

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Bishop College, Marshall, Texas	6	177	—
State Univ., Louisville, Ky.	5	144	17

1894

Wayland Seminary, Wash., D. C.	10	175	38
Richmond Theo. Sem., Rich., Va.	4	52	—
Hartshorn Mem. Col., Rich., Va.	6	108	Female
Virginia Sem., Lynchburg, Va.,	2	406	46
State Univ., Louisville, Ky.	8	184	17
Roger Williams U., Nash., Tenn.	11	207	20
Bible & Nor. Ins., Memphis, Tenn.	3	210	33
Water's Normal Ins., Winton, N.C.	2	215	10
Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.	13	353	16
Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.	9	181	33
Mather School, Beaufort, S. C.	5	210	33
Jeruel Academy, Athens, Ga.	4	116	9
Atlanta Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.	9	165	43
Spellman Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.,	14	627	Female
Walker Bapt. Ins., Augusta, Ga.	3	186	13
Florida Institute, Live Oak, Fla.	4	136	13
Florida Bapt. Acad., Jack., Fla.	4	149	6
Selma University, Selma, Ala.	5	144	19
Jackson College, Jackson, Miss.	7	135	10
Howe Institute, New Iberia, La.,	3	102	—
Gibbsland Acad., Gibbsland, La.	3	130	7
Ark. Bapt. Col., Little Rock, Ark.	3	150	12
Ark'hia. Acad., Arkadelphia, Ark.	3	95	3
Bishop College, Marshall, Tex.	12	263	22
Hearne Acad., Hearne, Texas	1	110	4
Houston Acad., Houston, Tex.	3	—	—
Macon Bapt. Acad., Macon, Mo.	4	81	12
Indian Univ., Muskogee, I. T.	7	96	10
Cherokee Univ., Tahlequah, I. T.	3	—	—
Seminole Acad., Sasakwa, I. T.	4	137	3
Atoka Bapt. Acad., Atoka, I. T.	5	127	—
Dawes Academy, Berwyn, I. T.	5	107	—

CHAPTER VIII

THE SOCIETY'S CHURCH EDIFICE PROGRAM IN THE SOUTH



The efforts of the Society to assist churches in the erection of buildings of worship began in 1850, and may be divided into four distinct stages. From 1850 to 1866 was the era of beginnings. The second stage began when E. E. L. Taylor was employed for the administration of this work in 1869 assumed headship of a new department to prosecute the program. The third stage was an era of decline after the resignation of Taylor in 1874, and continued until 1881. A new departure was then taken, and the fourth stage was characterized by the active promotion of the task.

On October 31, 1850, the Executive Board of the Society first seriously considered a suggestion for aiding feeble churches to build houses of worship. Two years later the Society issued a call for special donations in the interest of this program. In 1854, a special committee appointed to consider the constitutional aspect urged that the Society authorize the Board "so to interpret the 2nd Article of the Constitution" as to enable that body to raise and appropriate funds for building meeting-houses and supporting Christian teachers when the funds were so designated.¹ This authorization was later given.² Beginning with a "stirring document" prepared by Secretary Benjamin Hill entitled *A Plea for the Church Edifice Fund*, vigorous efforts were made intermittently until 1866 to forward this program. Inadequate resources made it necessary to use general funds

of the Society from 1864 to 1867 in behalf of this work.³

Dissatisfied with the progress being made, the Society authorized the Board in 1866 to use this fund for making gifts as well as loans for the erection of church edifices. In December of that year E. E. L. Taylor was secured as the leader in a campaign to raise \$500,000. In 1869, a special department was established with Taylor as its superintendent, and a new plan was launched.⁴ Funds were to be made available for loans only at 7% interest. The \$500,000 goal was not reached, but much progress was made under Taylor's leadership, as indicated by the following table of receipts during his period of office:

1867	\$ 7,713.71
1868	20,243.99
1869	15,047.13
1870	29,955.05
1871	34,857.02
1872	32,099.64
1873	51,032.19
1874	39,995.40

The period from 1874 to 1881 was a trying one. The financial crisis caused many churches to default on their loans. Most of the defaulting bodies could not even pay the interest. Small loans of less than \$500 became the rule. Compromises had to be made on the re-payment of some of the loans, and when other churches heard of these arrangements, there was much dissatisfaction.⁵ In addition to financial losses amounting to about \$20,000 by these compromises, applications for aid decreased to only ten in 1879 and seven in 1880.⁶ In the latter year the Society gave lengthy consideration to the con-

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dition of this fund. It had not fulfilled the expectation of its founders. It had been emphatically stated a decade before that the Board expected all loans to be repaid in three years or less. By 1880, of the two hundred and thirteen churches which had received loans from the fund, sixty-three had had the loan for less than five years, one hundred and eleven for over five years and less than ten years, and thirty-nine for ten years or longer.

The available records do not allow the preparation of a chart to show outstanding loans during the period before 1881, but a resume may be made of the states in the South which in 1881 still owed a balance to the fund, as follows:

State	Date of Loans	Principal
Alabama	1870-72	\$ 1,140.68
Arkansas	1874-75	2,000.00
Delaware	1870	1,095.00
District of Columbia	1875	750.00
Florida	1870	500.00
Georgia*	1871-75	1,750.00
Georgia**	1871-75	800.00
Indian Territory	1876	575.00
Louisiana	1873	374.10
Mississippi	1874	175.00
Missouri*	1866-75	2,250.04
Missouri**	1866-75	15,032.54
North Carolina*	1870-78	400.00
North Carolina**	1870-78	1,175.00
South Carolina*	1867-77	1,000.00
South Carolina**	1867-77	500.00
Tennessee*	1871-76	1,000.00
Tennessee**	1871-76	8,976.99
Texas	1873-78	1,150.00

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Virginia*	1868-77	2,700.00
Virginia**	1868-77	3,300.00

*Indicates Colored Churches

**Indicates White Churches

When definite indication was not given, it cannot be known whether the loan was made to a church of Indian, colored, or white members.

The annual report of 1881 carried an extensive discussion of a new plan for the church edifice program. It called for the establishment of a Benevolent Department. Permission was secured from surviving donors to transfer their gifts from the loan fund to this department, with the understanding that the principal in each case would be invested, and income therefrom would be used as gifts for erecting church edifices. The plan called for a maximum gift of \$500, and no church costing over \$10,000 was to be assisted. All grants were conditioned upon the raising of twice the amount secured from the Society within the local community where the building was to be erected. A good title to the property must be shown, and the need for the gift must be such that the building could not be erected without it. Except in special cases, the house must be freed from all indebtedness, the church must give a conditional mortgage on the property, the building must be insured, and a pledge must be made to send an annual contribution regularly to the Society.⁷

With funds available for both gifts and loans, the work of this department promptly expanded. Although the following chart, culled from the various reports, is relatively long, it provides a definite picture of the total activity of this department in the South.

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State	1881		Loans	
	Gifts		White	Colored
	White	Colored		
Tennessee				\$600.00
	1882			
Florida				500.00
Indian Territory*	\$572.17			
Mississippi		\$350.00		
North Carolina				400.00
South Carolina				100.00
Texas	400.00			400.00
Virginia			\$300.00	
	1883			
Arkansas			500.00	
Indian Territory*	363.96			
Kentucky			500.00	
Maryland		216.00		
Missouri	200.00		300.00	350.00
North Carolina		200.00	1,400.00	
Tennessee		300.00		100.00
Texas	950.00		250.00	
Virginia			800.00	
	1884			
Arkansas		100.00		200.00
Georgia				500.00
Indian Territory*	500.00			
Mississippi	250.00			
Missouri	270.00	200.00	250.00	500.00
North Carolina		225.00		300.00
South Carolina		300.00		800.00
Texas	1,900.00		650.00	
Virginia	100.00			175.00
	1885			
Kentucky				700.00
Louisiana		400.00		500.00
Mississippi	100.00			

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Missouri			500.00	
New Mexico	500.00			
North Carolina		80.00		400.00
South Carolina		100.00		300.00
Tennessee				500.00
Texas	800.00		1,300.00	
Virginia				900.00
	1886			
Alabama				500.00
Arkansas	200.00			400.00
Georgia				700.00
Louisiana				400.00
Mississippi				125.00
Missouri			68.05	300.00
North Carolina			400.00	100.00
South Carolina			200.00	1,150.00
Tennessee			250.00	500.00
Texas	730.00			300.00
Virginia				550.00
	1887			
Arkansas				300.00
Indian Territory*			400.00	
Mississippi	450.00			300.00
Missouri			400.00	
New Mexico	1,200.00		800.00	
North Carolina	51.76			
Tennessee				400.00
Texas	925.00	100.00	3,000.00	450.00
	1888			
Florida			300.00	
Indian Territory*	700.00			
Missiouri				700.00
South Carolina	15.00			
Texas	400.00	100.00	1,150.00	
Virginia		50.00		1,050.00

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State	1889		Loans	
	Gifts		White	Colored
	White	Colored		
Arkansas	200.00			
Georgia			750.00	
Indian Territory*	777.24			
Kentucky				1,500.00
Missouri			2,000.00	200.00
North Carolina	100.00	100.00		
1890				
Georgia				500.00
Indian Territory*	11.50			
Kentucky				900.00
Louisiana				1,000.00
Mississippi		200.00		400.00
Missouri			400.00	
South Carolina				500.00
Texas			500.00	500.00
Virginia				600.00
1891				
Arkansas				150.00
Georgia				1,200.00
Indian Territory*	1,535.56			
Kentucky		250.00	250.00	
Missouri			1,300.00	
North Carolina		300.00	300.00	500.00
Oklahoma*	1,550.00			
South Carolina				500.00
Texas		400.00		
Virginia	250.00	300.00		250.00
1892				
Arkansas		75.00	300.00	250.00
Georgia			800.00	
Indian Territory*	1,436.19	200.00		
Kentucky		200.00		
Mississippi		300.00		500.00

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Missouri		150.00	
New Mexico	500.00		
North Carolina		200.00	850.00
Oklahoma*	100.00	400.00	
South Carolina			1,300.00
Tennessee	300.00		400.00
Virginia	200.00		
	1893		
Arkansas		100.00	250.00 450.00
Indian Territory*	1,593.34	200.00	
Kentucky		200.00	
Louisiana		250.00	
New Mexico	62.00		
North Carolina		300.00	
Oklahoma*	850.00		
South Carolina		100.00	200.00
Texas		150.00	
Virginia		100.00	
	1894		
Alabama		125.00	
Delaware	200.00	300.00	
Indian Territory*	3,246.66	1,270.00	
Maryland		400.00	
New Mexico	1,762.00	1,000.00	
North Carolina		425.00	
Oklahoma*	2,150.00		
South Carolina		200.00	
Texas	500.00		

*These may have been Indian churches.

It is apparent from this table that the aim of the Society to help all races in the South in the construction of church edifices was carried out. From the inauguration of the new plan of operations in 1881 to 1894, the gifts made to non-colored churches in the South amounted to \$28,902.38 and loans totalled

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\$13,888.05, while the gifts to colored churches amounted to \$8,271.00 and loans totalled \$29,720.00. Since the application of each Southern church was entirely voluntary, there is no evidence of any opposition to this program, although after 1884 the Southern Baptist Convention also carried on a church edifice program.⁸

CHAPTER IX

THE SOCIETY'S AUXILIARIES IN THE SOUTH



A study of relations between the Society and the Southern states must include some reference to the auxiliary systems employed at various times. As soon as the Society was organized in 1832, efforts were made to enroll other home mission bodies as auxiliaries to the work of the national society. During the thirteen years before the separation of Northern and Southern Baptists these auxiliary relationships took the several forms mentioned heretofore.¹ Tension developed in 1844 over the fact the the Society was taking collections in the territories of its auxiliaries.² The auxiliaries asserted that since they were related to the general society in support of its work, they alone should take collections in their own territory and forward their offerings to the general society. The Society felt, on the other hand, that while having due respect for the plans of the auxiliaries, it should be "the true policy of the Executive Committee to arrange and carry forward such measures for the collection of funds in such portions of the country, and at such times as in their judgment the necessities of the case requires."³ Growing out of this and other cases of disagreement over the proper method of conducting auxiliary relationships, the Society abolished the original system by a change of the constitution in 1846.

During the first thirteen years, practically every Southern state was at some time or other an auxiliary to the Society. After the organization of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845, the Southern states

gradually turned their support to that body, although for a few years the Society received some funds from the South. From 1846 until 1864, the revised constitution of the Society eliminated the original auxiliary system. In 1864, the Society returned to the "original aim of the founders"⁴ by re-instituting the the auxiliary plan, but no Southern conventions of white Baptist were enrolled. In 1874, all auxiliary relations were abolished again, and for four years the Society operated as it had from 1846 to 1864.

In June, 1878, the Minnesota Baptist Convention proposed a plan of co-operation to the Society which involved the establishment of another auxiliary system. This was put into operation in July, and when H. L. Morehouse became Corresponding Secretary of the Society in the following year, he began an intensive campaign to enlarge the number of co-operating bodies. Several of the state Baptist conventions in the South aligned themselves with the Society in various type of formal or informal co-operation.

These relationships between the Society and the state conventions in the South may be classified in four categories, as follows:

- (1) Baptists in two states (Texas and Arkansas) entered into official and formal co-operation with the Society:
- (2) two Baptist state conventions (Georgia and Mississippi) entered into partial and less formal co-operation with the Society;
- (3) Baptists in many Southern states assisted in the work of the Society without entering into any official auxiliary agreements;
- (4) in one state (Missouri) and one terri-

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tory (Indian Territory) conflict arose between the Society and the Southern Convention over auxiliary relationships.

The entrance of Texas and Arkansas (and especially the former) into auxiliary relations with the Society brought a protest from the leaders of the Southern Baptist Convention that the Society was "invading" its territory.⁵ The Society replied that it had entered these fields at the invitation of the state conventions themselves, and was not "invading" the Southern field. Since Texas was specifically named as a pivotal state by the Southern leaders, the conflict there will be related in some detail.

When the Texas Baptist State Convention met at Galveston in 1881, the question of home missions had become a critical one. The Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention had been unable to assist for about six years, and the need was great. There had been no relations between Texas Baptists and the Society for over thirty years. The State Convention appointed a "specially strong committee" to survey the situation, and as a result an agreement was reached with the Society to co-operate with this convention in missions.⁶ It was arranged that the Society would furnish a maximum of \$3,000 during the year beginning October 1, 1881, with the provision that the Texas State Convention would match dollar for dollar the contribution of the Society.⁷ At the same time the Society also began formal co-operation with the "Eastern Texas Baptist Convention," with the Society providing two-fifths of the salaries of missionaries appointed, not to exceed \$1,000 during the year.⁸ In the following year co-operation was begun with a third Texas body—the North Texas Convention,⁹ but this Convention united with the

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State Convention in 1883.¹⁰

The principal auxiliary of the Society in Texas was the State Convention. This relationship was the accomplishment of O. C. Pope, who by agreement with the Society was elected Corresponding Secretary of the Convention.¹¹ Pope had visited the Society in New York on this matter¹² and had gained the confidence of its officers.¹³ In 1883, the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention proposed to the Texas State Convention and the General Association that they co-operate with the Southern Board under a plan similar to the one relating the State Convention to the Society. The proposal was accepted by each of these general bodies, and provided that the Board would contribute to each the sum of \$3,000 for state missions on the condition that each would raise a similar sum.¹⁴ The additional financial strength acquired through assistance from the Society and the Southern Convention led to a conflict in the missionary efforts of the General Association led by A. J. Holt and the State Convention led by Pope.¹⁵ The State Convention was co-operating with both the Society and the Southern Convention in 1883: seventeen missionaries reported to the Society and twenty to the Convention. This dual alignment still existed in 1884, when sixteen missionaries were assisted by funds of the Society and nineteen by funds of the Southern Convention.¹⁶ At the close of 1885, Pope resigned his position with the State Convention to accept a place with the Society. The following year brought consolidation of all general Baptist bodies in Texas, and this united organization turned for co-operation to the Southern Board alone.¹⁷

In December, 1880, the Executive Board of the Arkansas State Baptist Convention had requested the Society to enter into a compact with them for the

support of a missionary to the colored people. At this time the Arkansas Board said they could not give any assistance in the support of such a missionary; whereupon, the Society replied that it would not make the arrangement unless the state would assume some financial responsibility.¹⁸ Two years later a plan was effected by which the Society agreed to pay two-fifths of the salaries of such missionaries as might be appointed, not to exceed a total of \$1500, for the period of nine months from February 1, 1882.¹⁹ In June the Society's Board voted that the pro rata expenditure should be increased so that the Society would provide a dollar for each dollar contributed by the State. It was also arranged that S. W. Marston should devote special attention during the succeeding three months to the organization of the home mission program in Arkansas and to co-operation with the State Board.²⁰ In the following year Arkansas began active co-operation with the Southern Baptist Convention.²¹

The two states that entered into a less formal type of co-operation with the Society were Georgia and Mississippi. On July 15, 1877, J. H. DeVotie became Corresponding Secretary of the Georgia Baptist Home Mission Board. On his desk he found a letter from Corresponding Secretary S. S. Cutting of the Society which suggested a "fraternal talk" relative to mission work in Georgia. Devotie replied by expressing the hope that a discussion might be arranged concerning missions to the freedmen. He reviewed his own zeal in behalf of the colored race for the past thirty-five years and noted some of the difficulties that stood in the way of reaching those people. Georgia, he said, could not do this "vast work" alone, but "You can help us if you find a safe way." If a formal auxiliary relationship were entered into, "we would lose more at home than we

would receive from you," he went on. He suggested that the Society donate one thousand dollars or more, and let the Georgia Board appoint and commission men to do the work and make all reports to the Society.²² About a year later an arrangement was made for co-operation. Three colored missionaries and one white one were appointed, and the Society provided two-thirds of the salaries.²³ During the next four years this co-operation continued, but the plan was modified so that the Georgia Baptist State Convention and the Georgia Missionary Baptist State Convention (colored) each paid one-third of the salaries of two missionaries among the colored race, while the Society bore one-third of the expense.²⁴ Georgia white Baptists turned thereafter to the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention for active co-operation.²⁵

Reference has already been made to arrangements between the Society and Southern individuals in the holding of Ministers' Institutes.²⁶ The reorganization of this type of work in 1881 brought it into the regular educational and missionary program of the Society in the South.²⁷ The plan called for each Southern state convention to appoint and help support a general missionary among the colored people, whose duties would include the promotion of these Biblical Institutes, the task of carrying on a regular missionary program, and the responsibility of representing the Society at all the various meetings of the area. Mississippi white Baptists co-operated under this plan for a brief period, and A. H. Booth acted as the General Missionary for both Mississippi and Louisiana.²⁸

In addition to these two categories involving more or less official auxiliary relations between the Society and Southern state conventions, other state

bodies and individuals in the South contributed to the Society without entering into any official relationship. The reports of the Society speak constantly of gifts by Southern whites.²⁹ Virginia's Baptist newspaper advocated "entering formally" into the support of freedmen education, and the editor contributed \$500 to the Society for that interest.³⁰ South Carolina Baptists heard an urgent recommendation to support the freedman school in their state.³¹ In one year the white Baptist conventions of Missouri, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Texas contributed financial assistance.³² The Southern Baptist Convention employed W. H. McIntosh to assist with Ministers' Institutes in Georgia in 1883, and Secretary H. L. Morehouse of the Society viewed this as a measure of co-operation and was pained to learn that it might be discontinued.³³

It is instructive to notice that although such movements did not result in definite action, some state conventions other than the above group discussed seriously the possibility of entering into official auxiliary relations with the Society. In 1881, for example, a motion was made at the Tennessee Baptist Convention that a petition for official alignment be presented to the Society. The motion was finally laid on the table, but it had influential supporters.³⁴

In one of the states and one of the territories, there was a definite collision between the interests of the Society and those of the Convention.³⁵ The first of these was Missouri. In 1865, as a result of the war, two state Baptist organizations became active in Missouri, one looking to the Society and the other to the Convention for affiliation.³⁶ The representatives of both organizations sought contributions and support from the churches. Friction, rivalry, and antagonism finally brought a request by the supporters

of the Society in Missouri that there be a unification of all domestic mission activity.³⁷ The Society appointed a delegation to meet with the Convention at Richmond, Virginia, in 1888, and sent an urgent appeal for organic union. Secretary H. L. Morehouse of the Society remarked:

This communication from Missouri, together with similar expressions from other quarters, seems to indicate unmistakably the existence of a strong undercurrent of feeling among Baptists, in common with other denominations of the United States, in favor of unification of our great missionary enterprises.³⁸

The Southern Convention appointed a committee to meet with representatives of the Missouri General Association, the Missionary Union, the Publication Society, and the Home Mission Society for the purpose of discussing the Missouri problem rather than to consider organic union. The various committees met at Richmond, Virginia, on December 4, 1888. With particular reference to the Home Mission Society it was agreed that agents of the Society and those of the Convention working in Missouri would "limit their efforts to such churches and Associations as are in sympathy with the bodies which they respectively represent."³⁹ Churches and associations who had been accustomed to divide their contributions between the two bodies were to be left undisturbed, while churches with neither affiliation were to be cultivated by amicable agreement. The Board of the Society approved this agreement

with the express understanding, however, that the Society is not committed to this plan

as a finality, for the reason that because of the peculiar position which Missouri sustains to the regions beyond, into which hundreds of thousands, from that State and from the Southern States generally, have gone, the Society should have access to their help from all the Baptist churches of Missouri in the prosecution of its mission work throughout the great West.⁴⁰

Corresponding Secretary I. T. Tichenor of the Southern Convention's Home Mission Board and a member of the committee which had reached the agreement at Richmond, took sharp issue with this *ex post facto* limitation. He wrote a vigorous protest to Secretary Morehouse, and asserted that many of the Missouri churches had always co-operated with the Southern Convention. He insisted that each church had the right to decide its own beneficiary, and that such decision should be respected by the general bodies.⁴¹ The attitude of Morehouse was indicated by his comment on the action of the Society's Board. 'Since the Society had spent more than \$80,000 in mission money in Missouri and had assisted about forty churches from its loan and gift funds to the amount of about \$28,000, it ought, he said, "have the sympathy and aid of all Missouri Baptists in the prosecution of its vast and burdensome work."⁴² Perhaps discussing the argument by Tichenor that many Missouri churches had always co-operated with the Southern Convention, or possibly justifying the Society for modifying the Richmond agreement, Morehouse wrote:

The state of things that once existed ought not necessarily to determine what shall al-

ways be. Changed conditions may contain in themselves such a potency that former affiliations should count for nothing. Holding these views, the foregoing action was taken, although for an indefinite period to be determined by circumstances, the Board expects to abide by the terms of this compromise.⁴³

All of this exchange was without effect, however, since in the following months the unified Missouri convention asked both the Northern Societies and the Southern Convention to withdraw their agents from the state and permit the state organization to attend the work.⁴⁴ A plan was effected whereby one man should represent the Society and one the Convention to administer their interests, and all undesignated funds were to be allocated according to the division of receipts that had prevailed in Missouri during the preceding five years. The Society refused to admit the right of any organization to stand between it and the churches, but since the communication was seen as a fraternal request rather than a demand from the Missouri group, the request was granted. The Society made it plain that this action could be reconsidered "either for its own self-respect, or for the protection of its own rights and interests," should lack of wisdom or impartiality be observed.⁴⁵ The Society later expressed gratification for the way the Missouri plan was working, and said that "sectionalism has disappeared, and financial revenues have not been diminished."⁴⁶

The second area of conflict was Indian Territory (which later was included in the State of Oklahoma). In 1865, the Missionary Union (the foreign mission body of Northern Baptists) transferred its Indian work to the care of the Home Mission Society.

The larger part of Indian Territory had been considered by the Society to be the field of Southern Baptists, although the Society had worked among the Cherokees.⁴⁷ The economic prostration of the South after the Civil War made it impossible for the Southern Baptist Convention to continue its mission program among the Indians. When this became evident, the associations, churches, and even missionaries of the Southern Convention in Indian Territory appealed to the Society for aid. In 1875, for example, at a meeting of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Association, a resolution was unanimously passed that the Society be requested to enter the field and prosecute the work.⁴⁸ The following year the Society announced that since the Southern Convention had done little of late among the Indians, and "most earnest overtures have been made to this Society by associations, churches and missionaries even of the convention there," it was the duty of the Society to enter this field.⁴⁹ Under the leadership of J. S. Murrow, a missionary supported by the Rehoboth Association of Georgia (but technically under the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention), the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention for the Indian Territory was organized in 1883. The leaders (and Murrow in particular) thought that this Convention should affiliate with neither the Society nor the Convention in the South, but should receive help from both. Murrow did not reckon, however, with the conviction held by the Home Mission Board of the Southern Convention that home missions in the South should be carried on by a Southern denominational convention whose program embraced all of the interests of its constituency. Technically, Murrow became liable to disciplinary action when he openly disobeyed the instructions of the

Board that was employing him.⁵⁰ Actually, it was the emergence of a new ideology that brought trouble. Because Murrow felt that Indian missions could be carried on more effectively with a dual alignment, he refused to follow instructions of the Southern Board to bring the Territorial Convention into single affiliation, and submitted his resignation on July 15, 1891. On October 14 of that year he was appointed General Missionary in Indian Territory by the Society. The Society commended Murrow's action, and stated a desire

to see a strong, self-respecting convention for these Territories, free to act in whatever manner may seem best to them for the promotion of our growing interests therein .

. . . ⁵¹

All of the auxiliary relations between the Society and the various Southern states were terminated before 1887. This fact may be credited to Corresponding Secretary I. T. Tichenor of the Home Mission Board of the Southern Convention, who was responsible more than any other individual for the development of a denominational consciousness among Southern Baptists in the period from 1882 to 1894.⁵²

CHAPTER X

A CONFLICT OF IDEOLOGIES

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When Southern Baptists organized a new convention in May, 1845, it was generally overlooked that the convention was new in *kind* as well as in fact. It will be remembered that in the discussion that led to the formation of the Home Mission Society the question of the kind of organization to form was given careful attention. The settlement called for a society similar to the one already carrying on foreign missions (the General Convention), but altogether independent from that society. It was deliberately planned to organize a separate society for each benevolent interest. Some inherent weaknesses of the society method became apparent after the formation of the Home Mission Society. The constituency of the several societies necessarily overlapped, and there came an unintended rivalry for funds. The development of denominational unity was delayed, inasmuch as the various denominational interests, although conducted in complete co-operation, maintained an independence in outlook, management, and even location.

The same organizational dilemma faced Southern Baptists as they met in Augusta, Georgia, on May 8, 1845. A committee of two from each state represented, supplemented by W. B. Johnson as chairman and eight additional able men (making a total of twenty-three), was appointed to prepare a constitution for the proposed organization. The direction of the committee's thought was greatly influenced by W. B. Johnson.¹ One week before this consultative meeting he had specifically discussed before the

South Carolina Baptist Convention the problem of what *kind* of organization Southern Baptists should form. He mentioned that there were two possible methods—the society method and the convention method, and that the latter would employ a centralized administration. Specific emphasis was given to the necessity for judicious concentration, by which the whole denomination would be united in one body.² This was the plan that the large committee of the consultative convention adopted, and which was later approved by the entire convention.

The organization by Southern Baptists of a convention with separate Boards for benevolent work rather than of a society for each type of benevolent activity sowed seeds for an ideological conflict. Had the South simply formed separate benevolent societies for each type of activity, it would have been possible for the various societies, conceived as they were, to work side by side in comparative harmony. It is doubtful that a denominational rigidity would have developed. Each society would have acted as transmitter of funds for the particular benevolence it espoused. Any church might have contained individuals contributing to two or more societies doing the same type of work, depending entirely upon the sympathy of the individual for the general attitude and aims of the societies. But the organization of a convention in the South brought several ideological conflicts.

The first might be called a conflict in ideas of connectionalism. The society method minimized denominationalism while emphasizing the call of particular benevolence. Its purpose was to interest individuals or groups in a particular kind of benevolence. The convention method, on the other hand, emphasized denominationalism. It related the one supporting

its program to all the interests promoted by the denomination. The society method stressed independence; the convention method stressed connectionalism or denominationalism. This distinction becomes increasingly apparent as one reads the annual reports of the various societies working in the North throughout this period, and compares them with the reports of the Southern Baptist Convention during the same time. The various societies found their collecting agents entering into rivalry in the securing of funds. This situation was deprecated,³ but the very nature of the *modus operandi* of societies demanded that they independently cultivate the same vineyard. There may have been a measure of rivalry among the Boards of the convention, but the organizational unity lessened the force of it.

The second ideological conflict was grounded in geographical ideas. The constitution of the Home Mission Society, adopted in 1832, provided that its field of labor was all of North America. The Society's aim was "North America for Christ." The constitution of the Southern Baptist Convention, endeavoring to reproduce the spirit of the General Convention of 1814, named the United States as the area of its constituency. This meant that there was a complete geographical overlapping of the territory to be cultivated by the two bodies. This apparent geographical tension did not develop immediately after separation in 1845 for several reasons. For one thing, the cohesive force resident in the institution of slavery, binding together a distinctive geographical area in a cultural, social, and economic atmosphere (combined with the evident preference of northern missionaries not to work in the South), brought a territorial consciousness to the new convention.⁴ The voluntary withdrawal of the Home Mission Society

from the older states of the South during the period from 1845 to 1862 gave impetus to the conception of a distinct geographical division. Furthermore, the normal development of the southern body was abruptly interrupted by the war in 1860 before it could be determined how far the organization would go toward carrying out the constitutional definition of its field.⁵ For a generation after the war the South was too impoverished to consider projecting its missionary activity beyond the immediate area in which its affiliating churches lay. Finally, the different organizational character of the new southern body was partly responsible for the territorial ideas that developed in the early period. The new kind of organization encouraged an *intensive* development of denominational activity and loyalty rather than the *extensive* spread of the organization. The method of cultivation of the field, resident in an organization which emphasized a *denominational* unity embracing all benevolences instead of a *benevolent* unity which divided the constituency into groups loyal to one or more particular phases of work, provided a recognizable point of difference between the two sections. Since the convention method of operations included both home and foreign missions, those supporting the southern convention had no occasion to join either the home or foreign mission society in the North. This intensified the sectional consciousness already existing, and forwarded the idea of a division of territory. All of these factors help to explain the territorial conception revealed in the protest of the Southern convention when the Home Mission Society began to initiate mission work in the South after 1862. This marked the definite development of the geographical tension that had existed since 1845.

A pertinent question is, of course, why the South chose a centralized type of denominational organization instead of electing to carry on the traditional emphasis on independency provided in the society method. The choice is not completely unexpected as one surveys the antecedents. The ecclesiology of Southern Baptists for many years had given indications of centralizing emphases. A number of factors combined to encourage this view.⁶ One of these was the secular semi-feudal civilization which characterized the South and which projected its influence into ecclesiastical concepts. New England, on the contrary, influenced by its town-meetings, leaned toward the uncompromised independence of local congregations. The South also had its earliest relations with English Baptist life through the General Baptists, who were noted for their centralizing emphases. Furthermore, one of the leading movements in the development of Southern Baptists was the activity of Shubael Stearns and Daniel Marshall. When these men started their preaching tour southward in the sixth decade of the eighteenth century, they were recent converts from New England Congregationalism. The little church which they established became a mother of Baptist churches, and their semi-presbyterial inheritance displayed itself in the practices of Baptist Associations all over the area. Even in the choice of confessional statements, Southern Baptists indicated a centralizing emphasis.

The validity of the thesis that Southern Baptists had a basic centralizing ecclesiasticism may be questioned on the ground that during the first half of the nineteenth century the South was noted for its political doctrine of state rights. But there is no anomaly between the ideas of state rights and centralization: state rights simply meant that the idea of centraliza-

tion was not national but sectional. It would be difficult to find a more centralized government, for example, than that of Virginia before the constitutional reform movement of 1829. Thomas Jefferson bitterly attacked the state political organization in 1816 as being completely undemocratic. The House of Representatives and Senate, he said, are almost completely without responsibility to the main body of citizens in the state; the people can neither choose their governor nor control him; the state judiciary, from the highest to the lowest level, has tremendous power and is self perpetuating. It is significant that Jefferson then proceeds to describe the organization of the New England townships as the ideal democratic and decentralized form of government.⁷ This centralizing tendency of political thought found expression in sectional or state organization. When self-interest was imperiled and constitutional interpretation varied, the centralizing tendency was not projected into national government.⁸ Southern Baptists reflected this area of thought in the religious sphere, just as the New England group made it plain after 1820 that they would have none of the centralizing tendencies.

With this background it is not surprising that Southern Baptist leaders in 1845 made the deliberate choice of the convention type of organization rather than the society method. The action was the result of an ecclesiology which had not been expressed in the society method. Other factors subsequently augmented the growing Southern Baptist consciousness of territorial unity and contributed to the development of the denominational conception, but the initial impulse toward the tightly-knit connectionalism of modern Southern Baptist life must be traced to this new kind of organization in the South.

It became evident, therefore, that from the time of the organization of the new Convention in 1845, a conflict between it and the Society was implicit. The principal reason that this conflict did not occur historically before the 1860's is that the Society voluntarily withdrew most of its forces from the South until that time. This intermission gave the new Convention time to gather strength and to defeat in part some of the factors that conspired against its existence.

These threatening factors took several forms. For one things, the element of space added greatly to the problems of the new organization. At the time of the consultative meeting in 1845, Baptists in states west of the Allegheny Mountains sent few representatives because of poor communication and transportation facilities. The lack of these facilities greatly jeopardized the proper understanding and support of the Convention.⁹

A second factor that threatened the life of the Convention was the complete overthrow of the antebellum Southern civilization. Over a decade after the close of the Civil War, economic confusion and suffering were widespread.¹⁰ This economic prostration prevented Southern Baptists from engaging in an aggressive mission program at home or abroad. Some of the South's strongest Baptist leaders looked for a reunion with the Northern Societies. This would have eliminated the new kind of organization begun in the ideology of centralization.

A third hindrance to the success of the convention idea was the spirit of anti-missions, which had also been encountered by the Society. This spirit made no distinction between the society emphasis and the convention idea, but simply opposed any method

that involved the giving of funds and the employment of missionaries.

A fourth factor that militated against the Convention grew directly from the protest against "organized" work beyond the local churches. This was the movement known at Landmarkism, which took occasion through the Gospel Mission controversy to attack the very life of the Convention. Landmarkism objected principally to the financial basis of the Convention, which had been inherited from the society method. The emphasis placed upon the importance of the local church by the Landmark movement helped to modify the basis of representation in the Convention from a distinctly financial to a church basis. The Convention triumphed over this challenge in 1859, but in turn the emphases and methods of Landmarkism impressed themselves upon the Convention in such a paradoxical manner as to encourage the rise of denominationalism. The associational ideal of a church-centered denominational organization was furthered.

Closely aligned to this type of thought was a fifth threat to the life of the Convention which might be called localism. The Convention's first Corresponding Secretary for home missions resigned after less than six months of service, remarking that he was convinced that the people preferred to do domestic mission work through their associations and state conventions. Throughout the period from 1845 to 1894, there was friction between the Home Mission Board of the Convention and those states which desired to keep their funds and do their own work. Some of the Southern leaders gently chided these states by reminding them that they had clamored for aid from a general organization before 1845, but now that an agency had been organized to render such

aid they were unwilling to give it their support. For many years the funds collected and expended by the various Southern states for domestic missions greatly exceeded the amount provided for the Southern Convention's Domestic or Home Board.

The greatest test of the convention method, however, came in its conflict with the society idea. Potentially, with the formation of the new Convention in 1845, there were only three ways that the Convention and the Home Mission Society could resolve their conflicting types of thought, i. e., (1) by securing organic union between the two; (2) by eliminating the idea of a geographical division of fields; (3) by reaching some co-operative understanding through a definition of fields. If the ideological conflict had not been joined, or if any other than these three types of resolution had been attained, then neither the Society nor the Convention would have been true to its character and purpose. It is not to the discredit of either that the conflict came. The reverse is true. It should be continually reiterated that the tension between Northern and Southern Baptists in this era cannot be wholly explained in terms of jealous rivalry, doctrinal differences, or the clashing of personalities. As long as human beings are involved, these factors will play some part; but in this case they were not determinative. There are too many facts that are not covered by the hypothesis of a disgruntled South and an overbearing North. One of these is in the area of ecclesiology. It is a recognizable fact that Southern Baptists organized a new kind of convention in 1845. It bore a marked resemblance to the centralized ecclesiology that had been suppressed in Northern circles between 1814 and 1826. The deliberate choice of this kind of organization, set in a background of centralizing em-

phases in the South prior to 1845, and viewed in the light of the subsequent historical development of a centralized denominationalism among Baptists of the South, requires more consideration than any previous hypothesis has offered. Another fact that cannot be ignored is that there were other divisive issues between Southern Baptists and the Society than slavery. An abortive attempt was made in 1839 to begin a southern home mission organization, but it died in three years because of the lethargy of those who agreed with it in principle.¹¹ A third factor that is not explainable under the former hypothesis is that in 1867 and 1868, practically every Southern Baptists leader was desirous that the Northern group should work in the South, with the single condition that the integrity of the Southern Convention be maintained. Finally, one cannot read the reports of the Society over a period of half a century and those of the Convention for a similar time, and watch men sacrifice, pray, and toil, and hear the fervent language of sincere men trying to give account of their eternal stewardship, without realizing that a superficial interpretation cannot be sustained. Today as never before, the devastating effect of clashing ideologies is recognized; and only by this interpretation does the tension between Northern and Southern Baptists in this era become understandable. The following chapter will endeavor to trace historical evidences of this ideological conflict.

CHAPTER XI

SOCIETY VERSUS CONVENTION



The ideological conflict between the Society and the Southern Convention began to assume historical focus in 1862. At this time the Society ceased the "expediency" of holding itself aloof from the South, and asserted "its original birthright to the cultivation of this entire continent."¹ It instituted a program in the South covering all phases of religious life of that period. Through its evangelistic efforts there came the founding of churches and Sunday Schools. Its educational efforts (primarily for the freedman and the Indian) provided institutions of learning. Assistance was offered to weak churches in the erection of edifices for worship, which became effective after 1866.²

The issue was specifically joined at the meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention in May, 1867, when a resolution was passed asking that the Society do its work in the South by making appropriations to the Boards of the Convention.³ The territorial consciousness of the Southern group was more clearly defined the following year when a committee from the Society attended the meeting of the Convention. In addition to resolutions insisting upon the continuance of a separate Southern organization, the Convention asked the "brethren from abroad" to work through the agency of the Boards of the Convention.⁴ This, likewise, was the import of John A. Broadus' request in open meeting at the anniversary of the Society in 1868.⁵ The Society's official reply stated that this viewpoint was not compatible with its constitutions and aims, and that the Society

would not permit a territorial organization to direct its work.⁶ Whereupon, Basil Manly, Jr. voiced the attitude of the South when he said that "we will at least not oppose whatever you may choose to do . . . ," although disagreeing in principle.⁷ A generation later Henry L. Morehouse (one of the Society's ablest leaders) pointed to the events of the meeting of 1868 as defining the positions of North and South.⁸ This joining of the issues represented the exact point of tension between the society method of organization and the convention idea. Additional weight is given this interpretation by the attempted compromise of Secretary J. A. Backus in 1869. His proposal would have granted practically all that the South asked except a recognition of the Convention as the sole general organization in the South. At this one point the Southern leaders were unwilling to compromise.⁹ *

From 1864 to 1888 the Society endeavored to secure the organic union of Northern and Southern Baptists, but the Convention, although sometimes torn by conflicting opinions on the part of its constituency, consistently refused to take this step.¹⁰ The other two possibilities for the resolution of this issue then came to the fore. The ideological conflict demanded that either there be a breakdown of the idea of geographical division, or a co-operative understanding about the division of the field. No understanding was reached, and it became evident that the former course would take precedence. The Convention concept of a geographical or territorial unity was shattered by the predominant society idea of winning the entire country to Christ.

The period from 1868 to 1882 might be termed the era of ascendancy of the society idea in the South. During this time, disregarding the desires of the

Convention, the Society aggressively pushed southward to win that part of the continent. This ascendancy may be seen in the more favorable attitudes engendered in the South toward the Society, in the enlarged scope of the Society's work, in the official co-operation secured with various Southern state conventions, and in the promise for the future suggested both by the progress made and the resources possessed by the Society.

That the attitude in the South toward the work of the Society had vastly improved in 1882 over what it was in 1868 cannot be doubted. In the fields of evangelism and education, there were many evidences that the sectional antagonism of previous years was departing, and many in the South were completely unconscious of the ideological conflict that threatened the life of the Convention. The Jubilee meeting of the Society in 1882, to which representatives of all Southern Baptist state conventions were invited for the express purpose of discussing plans for future work, was the culmination of efforts by the Society to improve Southern attitudes. Fifteen states (or territories) from the South attended.¹¹ Furthermore, by 1882, Southern white churches began to look increasingly toward the Society for assistance in erecting their church buildings.¹² The development of a friendly attitude in the South was reflected also by the growth of financial support from that section.¹³ It is true that official financial support was not accorded to the Society's work, but there were many direct and indirect gifts to the Society, particularly for educational work.¹⁴ The Southern Baptist Convention itself sustained students in the schools of the Society, and individual states offered financial assistance.¹⁵

There was likewise evidence of much progress by

the Society during this period in the increasing scope of its operations. In 1872, when somewhat complete figures are first available for educational missions, there were seven schools with nineteen teachers and eight hundred and thirty-one pupils. In 1882, there were thirteen schools with seventy-eight teachers and two thousand three hundred and twenty-nine pupils, of whom four hundred and seventy-three were ministerial students. The number of schools had almost doubled, the number of teachers had increased almost four times, and the number of students was about three times as large. Although the figures do not set it out as clearly, the same progress had been made in evangelism. Before 1873, approximately sixty students would use their summer vacations each year to act as temporary missionaries in the South. In that year, as representative of the permanent organization of the Society for missions in the South, there were thirty-one missionaries in eleven Southern states, and these accomplished eleven hundred and thirteen missionary weeks of labor. In 1882, there were sixty-seven missionaries in thirteen states of the South, and they accomplished a total of seventeen hundred and forty-eight missionary weeks of labor. The number of missionaries had more than doubled, two additional states were being reached, and a fifty per cent increase was shown in missionary weeks of labor. By 1882, furthermore, Indian, white, and colored churches in Florida, Indian Territory, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia were calling upon the Society's Church Edifice Fund for loans and gifts. The Society had also successfully begun extensive operations in what were termed "Biblical Institutes," and had geared this work into the regular educational program of the Society.

It has been pointed out, also, that by 1882, several southern and southwestern states had aligned themselves with the Society for official co-operative missions. This aspect of the developing strength of the Society in the South was described in a previous chapter. Baptist Conventions in Texas, Arkansas, Georgia, and Mississippi were in more or less formal alliance with the Society, and much support was given to the Society's activity by Baptists in other states without formal alignment.

Finally, the stability and resources of the Society gave promise for the future. In 1882, the Society had been in operation for fifty years. Its total contributions had amounted to almost four million dollars, of which almost two million dollars had been received in the previous ten years. Its line of operations were reinforced strongly and its methods were widely acclaimed.

Alongside this picture of the increasing strength of the society idea should be noticed the diminishing strength of the convention idea in the period before 1882. It seemed certain that the convention idea would fail. Apart from the ideological conflict with the society idea, it was inconceivable that the Home Board of the Convention could continue to function. Its financial condition had deteriorated, even beyond the lean years that followed the war. In 1868, in an effort to bolster the moral of the Convention, a comparative statement of receipts from 1832 to 1846 was published showing that in the thirteen years that Southern Baptists were a part of the Society their total gifts were \$38,565.40, but that in the thirteen years from 1846 to 1859, the gifts of Southern Baptists had amounted to \$266,356.13.¹⁶ For comparative purposes the following chart is presented showing the yearly receipts of the Home

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Mission Board of the Convention (under its various names) through the remainder of the period under study:

1860	\$ 37,659.34	1871	\$ 31,223.17
1861	35,274.50	1872	38,014.83
*1862	14,996.73	1873	27,199.20
*1863	29,072.12	1874	20,574.27
*1864	118,937.91	1875	23,260.54
*1865	156,491.76	1876	19,359.81
1866	23,058.28	1877	16,816.64
1867	34,257.58	1878	12,960.43
1868	27,071.58	1879	16,200.47
1869	18,205.53	1880	20,624.30
1870	21,549.73	1881	27,369.69

*Confederate currency

In contrast with the gifts of almost two million dollars to the Society in the preceding decade, the Home Mission Board of the Convention received less than \$250,000. In addition, some of the most liberal supporters of the Board were greatly dissatisfied with the plan of administering the finances of the Board. Until 1876, collecting agents and district secretaries had been used in the field (doing some missionary work in addition to their administrative duties), and almost half of all collections was required for administration. In 1876, for example, the Home Board of the Convention received \$19,359.81 (compared with \$177,876.62 collected by the Society). Forty-four per cent of the funds collected—\$8,518.32—was needed for administration, leaving \$10,841.49 for the principal task.

Another problem, which was not new, seemed likely to choke out the Convention's Home Mission

Board. The old question of whether mission funds should be expended by the state convention or the general body was never settled. The over-shadowing of the Southern Board by the various State Boards may be glimpsed in some of the reports. In 1873, the receipts of the Convention's Board were \$27,199.20, while seven states reported having expended \$18,367.68 on their own fields. In 1881, the receipts of the Convention's Board were \$27,369.69 (the largest amount since 1871), but eight states reported having expended in the same period \$54,817.21 on their own fields. In the following year the receipts of the Convention's Board were \$28,370.08, while eight states reported having spent \$56,903.28 on their own fields. By reason of the operation of Southern state organizations, the only areas of mission opportunity left in the hands of the Convention's Board by 1880 were Florida, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Indian Territory, and California.¹⁷ In 1882, the Board had no missionaries in Virginia (save one engaged in special work), none in Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Kentucky, Missouri, Mississippi, and Georgia (save one on special work). In the same year the Society had twenty-three missionaries and twenty-nine teachers in these states. The Home Mission Board of the Convention was actually denied the right of collecting funds or prosecuting missions in some of these states by official action of the state conventions.¹⁸ The South did not have confidence in its own brain-child. In the South and Southwest, only Florida, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and Indian Territory were left to the Home Board. It is no wonder that the entrance of the Society into official relations with Texas and Arkansas and the aggressive missionary and educational program in Indian Territory were eyed with alarm by leaders of the South-

ern Convention. As a matter of fact, the need for a Home Mission Board had been debated vigorously in the Convention since 1871.¹⁹ The situation was so dark in 1879 that a resolution offered by I. T. Tichenor relative to an agreement with Baptists in the North was understood by an able Baptist historian to be a move to dissolve the Convention.²⁰ The year 1882 was critical, not only for the Home Board, but for the very Convention itself. If the Convention had discontinued work in the home field, there is little doubt that the Foreign Mission Board would soon have lost its strength. The pre-emption of the home field by a Northern Society would have caused the sympathies of those giving the funds for the support of foreign misisions to turn to the national society helping in the establishment of their churches, Sunday Schools, etc. The life of the Convention was wrapped up in the Home Mission Board.²¹ Some wanted to abolish the Board by official action before it died; others wanted to move it to a new location and start over. In 1882, the Board was moved from Marion, Alabama, to Atlanta, Georgia, and a new secretary in the person of I. T. Tichenor was elected. Tichenor faced what he termed "a great defeat and a lost cause." He surveyed the area west of the Mississippi, and judged that the entire territory had passed out of the hands of the Southern Board. East of the river the outlook was not much brighter. Mississippi was allied with the Publication Society of the North, Georgia was co-operating with the Home Mission Society in freedman missions, while Florida was seriously considering an official alignment with the Home Mission Society.²² Tennessee Baptists also were studying the possibility of Northern alignment.²³ Indian Territory and Louisiana were the only areas that offered the possibility of align-

ment with the Southern Convention, and in the former the Home Mission Society was pressing an aggressive campaign.²⁴

If a particular point should be sought at which a change in the fortunes of the Convention took place, it seems to have been in August, 1882, when President E. T. Winkler of the Home Mission Board of the Convention wrote an article openly challenging the aggressive entrance of the Home Mission Society into the South. His article was widely copied. Perhaps for the first time it called the attention of many Southern states to the real issues involved. Winkler looked askance at the plans of co-operation being effected between the Society and the various Southern states, especially with Texas and Arkansas. He noted that the Society was co-operating with the Mississippi Convention in supporting a missionary among the freedmen, and with the colored conventions of Virginia, North Carolina, and Florida for freedman missions. He underlined Georgia's arrangement with the Society and noticed that the Society was declining similar arrangements with other Southern state conventions only for the present, due to lack of finances. He called attention to the employment of a distinguished educator by the Society to superintend educational work among the freedmen, and pointed out that the new Southwestern Missionary District established by the Society embraced the very regions designated by the Southern Convention as the special field of Southern labors, including Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Indian Territory, and Western Louisiana. Winkler called the activity of the Society an "intrusion," and said that the Society seemed to be on the ground of the South to stay. The Southern Baptist Convention, he concluded, was being supplanted in its own domain.

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Every one of the border States of the South is occupied by the Home Mission Society; and most of our older States are in co-operative alliance with the American Baptist Publication Society in colportage and Sunday School work The missionaries employed in the South by the Home Mission Society is 120—just three times the number of those under commission of our own Home Mission Board. The total expenditures of the Northern Society at the South, for regular missionary and educational work and school buildings, during the past year, was over \$84,000, while, on the other hand, the entire contribution of Southern Baptists to their Home Mission Board did not amount to \$29,000.²⁵

This article touched off a newspaper controversy on the right of the Society to work in the South that thoroughly ventilated the subject. It was immediately answered by Corresponding Secretary H. L. Morehouse of the Home Mission Society, who remarked that Winkler had been disturbed by the "aggressiveness of the Society" during the last Southern Convention meeting. Morehouse affirmed that the Society was in the South to stay, and suggested that the inevitable should be gracefully accepted. He insisted that the Society had a right to work in the Southwestern District to which Winkler had alluded as the particular field of the Southern Board. More had been done in that region by the Society, said Morehouse, than by any other organization, and it "is therefore entitled to the returns from that field for missionary work in adjacent regions beyond" He resented the ideas suggested

by the words "intrusion" and "invasion" used by Winkler, and said that the state conventions had invited the Society to enter those fields. Furthermore, Morehouse continued, the Society "is there and anywhere else on this continent

by right of its original and unchanged constitution, which names *North America* as its field of operations; is there by the right which is derived from the law of love that requires the strong to respond to the calls of the needy . . . ; is there by the right of and in keeping with the spirit of the new era of our nation when the old things have passed away, and all things have become new, when sectional lines and sectional feelings are being obliterated, and the spirit of fraternity is binding in its blessed bonds the Baptist brotherhood as well as the citizens of this land.²⁶

The clearest exposition of the attitude of the Society toward its relations with the South from the very beginning of the Society's organization in 1832 is found in one of the numerous controversial articles over whether the Society was a sectional or national organization. The *Religious Herald* of Virginia had disagreed with the statement in the Society's annual report of 1884 that the Society was not sectional and was not Northern. The Virginia paper thought that the Society was "as truly *Northern* as the Southern Baptist Conventions is Southern." So also said the *Foreign Mission Journal* of Southern Baptists. In reply, Morehouse reiterated that the Society was not sectional. He reviewed the history of the organization showing that the Society was not Northern

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before the separation of 1845; that for expediency separation had taken place on the question of slavery, but that the cause of separation had been obliterated.

Therefore, when old things passed away, and the new and better order came in, the Society instinctively recognized and reasserted its original birthright to the cultivation of this entire continent, and at once resumed operations in the South, among both the white and the colored people . . . Its work was no longer, by exclusion or complusion, merely in the North, *but as of old throughout the land*. It resumed operations on a national scale, claiming its original and indefeasible right to send labors and have its supporters anywhere on this continent . . . The name, constitution and charter, which declare North America to be its field, have been, are, and will remain unchanged. It is not, it cannot be, a "sectional" society . . . The Society rejoices in the increasing number of life members and life directors, both of white and of colored brethren, in the Southern States, and that many churches in several Southern states are regular contributors to its treasury. Indeed, it will not be surprising if in the near future the Society shall hold its annual meeting in the South.²⁷

Morehouse continued by saying that it would be absurd to call a Society "sectional and Northern" which had missionaries in forty-five States and Territories, which had aided churches in twenty-eight States and Territories to erect meetings-houses, which in 1883 had one hundred and fifty-seven labor-

ers in the Southern states and had expended about \$100,00, which ministered to the foreign population in twenty-five States and Territories (including six in the South), and which had such a wide base in membership, contributors, and management. In the face of this statement by Secretary Morehouse the ideological conflict between Northern and Southern Baptists becomes clearly apparent.

The *Religious Herald* of Virginia freely gave voice to the feeling that the Society was endeavoring to weaken or overthrow the Southern Convention, and pointed with alarm to the co-operation of the Society with Texas Baptists. In reply, Morehouse published correspondence of the Society with O. C. Pope, Superintendent of Missions of one of the conventions in Texas, which showed that Texas had called upon the Society for aid when the Southern Convention was unable to furnish it, and that the Society had gladly complied with this request.²⁸ The attitude of the Society toward the Home Mission Board of the Southern Convention is suggested by an article published in their journal, which said:

We observe that some influential Southern Baptists are openly asserting that the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention is a superfluity and ought to be dispensed with entirely. Its field is covered by old and efficient State conventions, the only new mission fields to which it devotes attention being portions of Florida and Texas. It is felt that a special organization for such limited work is not now called for, whatever may have been the demands for it in the past.²⁹

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Conflicts in Missouri and Indian Territory during the last decade of the period under study emphasized the incompatibility of the ideologies of the Society and the Convention. In 1888, after much friction and antagonism by workers of each organization in the State of Missouri, they urgently requested the Society and the Convention to formulate some plan of unification. The Convention disregarded an appeal for organic union from the Society, but committees were appointed to reach an agreement upon the relations of each body to Missouri churches. The committees agreed that each body would limit its efforts to churches and associations in sympathy with its program; a compromise was reached relative to churches affiliated with neither body. Later on, however, the Society's Board refused to accept the agreement as final because the Society had made extensive contributions in the state and it "ought to have the sympathy and aid of all Missouri Baptists in the prosecution of its vast and burdensome work."⁸⁰ Missouri Baptists finally asked both the Society and the Convention to withdraw and permit the state forces to attend to the collection and disbursing of funds.⁸¹ It is significant that the Society maintained its interest in Missouri on the basis of a benevolence (home missions); the Convention asserted a territorial interest.

Another illustration of the incompatibility of the society idea and that of the convention occurred in Indian Territory. Missionary J. S. Murrow of the Convention's Home Mission Board had endeavored in 1891 to continue securing missionary appropriations from both the Society and the Convention for Indian Territory, believing that the work would be more effective under double alignment than under the Southern Convention alone. The concept of Southern

territorial unity had become so dominant that Murrow, refusing to make the Territorial Convention of Indian Territory an auxiliary of the Southern Convention, was forced to resign as a missionary of the Convention. He was appointed three months later by the Society.³²

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Meanwhile, after the challenge of Winkler, a new spirit began to animate the Home Mission Board of the Convention. The period from 1882 to 1894 might be called the era of ascendancy of the convention idea. As a result of the energetic policy of Corresponding Secretary Tichenor, "in five years (after he took office in 1882) there was not a missionary to the white people of the South who did not bear a commission from either the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, or one of our State Boards in alliance with it."³³ In evaluating the achievement of this period, Tichenor's comment is significant. He said:

The Board had demonstrated its right to live, and won the confidence of the denomination.

The "confidence of the denomination" is the index to what happened during this decade. The phenomenal rise of the convention idea is not to be explained by the fact that the Society had lessened its activity in the South. Rather, from 1882 to 1894 the Society maintained a higher average of activity of every kind in the South than in any other decade of the Society's history. Furthermore, the rise of the convention idea cannot be accounted for by the hypothesis that the Society was no longer appealing to the South for support of its distinctive ideas. Practically every annual report of the Society during the ninth decade

contained arguments and pleas for uniting all American Baptists under the society plan. Appeals were made on the basis of the church edifice work³⁴ and the strength of the general program.³⁵ A strong bid for unification was made in connection with the Jubilee meeting of 1882.³⁶ The most direct appeal ever put into writing for the uniting of all American Baptists under the society method of operations was made during this time.³⁷ The Society was confident of its ability to continue the task which it had begun half a century before.³⁸

Finally, the rise of the convention idea during this period cannot be attributed entirely to an increase in contributions to the work of the Southern Board. It is true that receipts increased considerably from 1882 to 1885, yet the Society's work in the South showed a corresponding upsurge. Increased receipts may well be interpreted as the result of the increased self-consciousness of the denomination. The return to some degree of economic normalcy after the withdrawal of troops from the South in 1877 also helps to account for the increase. But the increase in receipts during this period is not sufficient to explain the phenomenal rise of Southern Baptist denominational consciousness. The average annual gift from 1882 to 1887 (the period in which Tichenor said that the Southern Convention had won its place) amounted to a little more than \$51,000. This was an encouraging increase, but hardly enough to compare favorably with the expenditure of approximately \$100,000 annually by the Society for its work in the South during this time.³⁹ As late as 1891, Secretary Morehouse of the Society noticed an article in the *Western Recorder* of Kentucky which said:

The time ought to come very soon now,

in the increased prosperity of the South, when Southern Christians shall do all that is needed in missionary work among the negroes, leaving Northern missionary bodies who have so generously helped, during the days of our poverty, to turn their entire attention and all their funds to the North-western States and to their own great cities.

Morehouse commented on this article in a rather critical vein, concluding,

The American Baptist Home Mission Society expends more every year for the work among the colored people of the South than the white Baptist of the Southern States contribute directly to their Home Mission Board for all purposes.¹²

While the various factors just listed doubtless played some part in the ascendancy of the convention idea in the South from 1882 to 1894, it seems evident that the very nature of the Southern Convention contributed measurably to the development of a denominational consciousness. <Unlike the meetings of the Northern Baptist Societies, which did not represent the churches and associations, and whose organizational form were specifically designed to avoid connectionalism or denominationalism, gatherings of the Southern Baptist Convention spoke with a denominational accent.> In its interests the Convention resembled a magnified association, in that various denominational functions were considered. The severe conflict through which it had passed had unified it and given it self-consciousness. The various state conventions of Baptists in the South which had

for one reason or another not supported the Board prior to 1882 were now in hearty and sympathetic co-operation. The period beginning in 1882 marks the coming to maturity of the denominational consciousness implicit in the convention idea. Those Southern states which had co-operated with the Society prior to this time had been conscious only of doing that which would forward the Christian movement. They had felt no sense of impropriety in leaving the Southern Board to co-operate with the Society, or even of cordially co-operating with both the Convention and the Society.⁴¹ J. H. DeVotie of Georgia, one of the ardent supporters of the Convention's Home Mission Board, saw no incongruity in entering into formal co-operation with the Society, yet protesting earnestly against the possibility of removal or abolition of the Home Mission Board.⁴² O. C. Pope of Texas bargained with the Convention on the basis of an offer from the Society;⁴³ while J. S. Murrow called for help from both Convention and Society. It is quite significant that Pope was successful, but Murrow was forced to resign. In the very period separating the voices of Pope (1881) and Murrow (1891), the denominational consciousness of Southern Baptists had matured. The concept of Murrow was not challenged in the 1880's; in 1891 it was an incompatible idea.

The rapid growth of this denominational consciousness after 1894 will not be made the subject of specific study. The effort at comity inaugurated in 1894 and continued by subsequent conferences requires simply a narration of the historical developments in co-operative relations between the two independent bodies.

CHAPTER XII

COMPROMISE



Before describing the relations between Northern and Southern Baptists in the period of comity agreements, an effort will be made in this chapter to summarize some of the reasons why the Southern Convention constantly refused to align itself with the Society, and to trace the events of the Fortress Monroe conference of 1894 which closed an era in American Baptists life.

This interpretation of the relations between the Society and Baptists of the South has called attention to the ideological conflict that was implicit in the organization of a *convention* in the South rather than a *society*. The conflict was not revealed in history from 1845 to 1862 since the Society voluntarily withdrew from the South. When the war opened the Southern fields to the Society, the conflict assumed historical focus. From that time until 1882 the Society steadily marched toward what seemed to be a certain victory. From 1882 to 1894, however, the Convention gained in favor and strength, and a denomination was born.

Why did not the Baptists in the South return after 1865 to their original relations with the Society? The element that occasioned separation in 1845 had been eliminated. Both from the viewpoint of the "peculiar institution" and the constitutional question it had raised, the matter was now finally settled. There can be little doubt that Southern Baptists would have been welcomed into a relationship similar to the one existing before 1845. A minority of Northern Baptists might have interposed conditions, but for

the most part there was a real desire by the Society to unite on the original basis.

The reasons behind the refusal of Southern Baptists to unite with the Society cannot be completely plumbed. This study would emphasize a factor that has been completely neglected—a growing ideological difference in ecclesiology whose antecedents were evident prior to separation in 1845. It is difficult to explain the centralized organization that was deliberately chosen by Southern Baptists except in terms of such antecedent differences in concept. It is significant that in the very year separation took place, the General Convention in the North (the society for doing foreign mission work) made a drastic revision of its constitution (as well as changing its name) which transformed it completely into a *society* and eliminated elements of ecclesiastical connectionalism. All privileges in the new Missionary Union were vested in life members who could be constituted by the payment of \$100.00. This provision eliminated entirely the character of the body as a denominational representative. Its members functioned as individuals, not as representatives of or related to any auxiliary or church. It became an ideal society for those interested in foreign missions.¹ It is evident that the Southern group, accustomed to a distinctly denominational body, could hardly dissolve its organization and join the various Northern societies without reversing completely its entire ecclesiological philosophy.

Other factors also played a very important part in the decision of Southern Baptists against organic union. The time element was significant. Separation had come in May 1845; at the very earliest, the South could not have been expected to return until after 1865. This meant that for twenty years there

had been a cessation of correspondence between the Societies in the North and the Convention in the South. It is noticeable that the *older* men—those who had known the fellowship and catholic spirit of the Home Mission Society before 1845—seem to have been more eager for a renewal of the old relationship than were the younger men. One of the strongest proponents for reunion was Richard Fuller, who had been prominent in the attempt to keep the break from occurring in 1845. J. B. Jeter, as well, looked with a friendly eye toward closer relations with the Society, although finally going along with his Southern brethren who did not favor organic unification. On the other hand, the younger generation of preachers who had never known fellowship with the Northern Societies showed no inclination toward favoring such union. Doubtless the only memories of men who were forty to forty-five years old were of the bitter recriminations of both sides in the closing days of the controversy.

Another set of reasons for the refusal of Southern Baptists to unify its work with Northern Societies centers in the sectional struggle that had just taken place. As indicated in earlier chapters, the Confederate cause was fully supported by Baptists in the South. Southern associations felt no hesitation in mentioning in one sentence a man's loyalty religiously and politically.² A projected war bitterness was felt keenly by many of the younger preachers in the South, practically all of who served in the Confederate forces. They felt that the loyalty of the colored slaves throughout the war demonstrated that there had been no mistreatment of that group, and looked upon themselves as the "true friends" to the negro.³ Intemperate utterances by a minority of Baptists in the North, laying down conditions of fellowship *sine*

qua non, did not improve the Southern attitude. The era of political Reconstruction extended at least until 1878 much of the sectional bitterness that otherwise would have subsided sooner.

A third set of complementary reasons for Southern aloofness concerned the mission needs of the Southern field. There had been considerable complaint before 1845 that the South had been neglected by the Home Mission Society, and after the war it was felt that a Southern organization could meet Southern needs in a better fashion. Throughout the discussions after 1865 about a possible union with the North, the statement was often made that one large organization for Baptists would become unwieldy and inefficient.⁴

One of the important factors contributing to the continuing friction between Northern and Southern Baptists in this period was the publicizing of numerous controversies in the denominational newspapers.⁵ It is not the purpose of this discussion to evaluate the positions taken in such public controversy, but simply to notice that these literary recriminations kept North and South constantly in turmoil against each other. Much of the controversy centered in the status of the negro in the South. In 1871, for example, a bitter article was published in the North under the head "Shooting Down Our Brethren" which described the alleged shooting of some negroes in the South. The author of the article was J. B. Simmons, Southern secretary of the Society. He refused to give his source for the story but on January 19, 1871, a group of members of the First Baptists Church, Augusta, Georgia, published an article alleging that it was an unsupported defamation.⁶ The attitude that Southern whites should have toward the colored race was the subject of much

controversy.⁷ In 1894, there were several fires involving property belonging to the Society and used for the education of the freedmen. The Society felt that the fires were the work of incendiaries who opposed freedman education. Investigation revealed, however, that one of the fires was accidental, one was caused by a personal grudge, and in the other case positive proof was wanting.⁸ There was also some controversy about the relative worth of the Northern and Southern Baptist organization. The North had recognized the new type of organization utilized by the South, and there was some agitation to modify the Northern organizations in the direction taken by the South.⁹ There were evident differences of opinion on this matter in the North.¹⁰ From October 1882 to January 1885, the Society's organ gave considerable space to a controversial discussion of whether the Society was a sectional or a national agency.¹¹ Other articles dealt with whether white teachers in the South were being ostracized by white Baptists in the South.¹² One sharp discussion between the editors of the *Religious Herald* of Virginia and the Society's *Home Mission Monthly* centered in the convict-farming system. Each claimed that the other had no knowledge of the subject.¹³

In the light of later developments, it is significant that as early as 1873, W. A. Jarrell of Quincy, Illinois, wrote an article asserting that only morals and heresy were legitimate grounds to separate Northern and Southern Baptists. In morals, he said, neither side could claim superiority, but many Southern Baptists were looking askance at some of the practices of Northern Baptists at the point of alien immersion and open communion. Jarrell remarked that many Southern churches were doing the same things, and some were worse in that they received

immersions from anti-mission churches. Jarrell thought a good Methodist immersion much superior to this. Furthermore, one minister among Southern Baptists had recently advocated a Presbyterian type of church government, and still another was heretical in holding to the doctrine of soul-sleeping. Some Southern churches even practiced foot-washing.¹⁴ There was not as yet a great deal of controversy on these subjects as a distinctively sectional point of difference.

The events leading to the conference of Fortress Monroe may be sketched quickly. Having taken the position of refusing to enter into organic union with the Northern Societies, the Southern Baptists Convention found that its ideal of a Southern territorial unity was shattered, and that the Society was "invading" the South for missionary purposes. It has been shown that Southern leaders, both local and Southwide, recognized the value of the educational program of the Society, although the evangelistic effort was not so well received. In 1867 and 1868, the Convention stated its position on co-operation by requesting the Society to work through the Southern Boards.¹⁵ In 1879, I. T. Tichenor introduced a resolution which looked toward a co-operative understanding with the North in the fixing of territorial limits. Since the circumstances surrounding the offering of the resolution led many to think that an attempt was being made to dissolve the Convention, it was voted down.¹⁶ There came a suggestion from a Southern editor in 1891 that the increased economic strength of the South might make it possible for the Convention to take over the Society's Southern work, and allow the Society "to turn their entire attention and all their funds to the Northwestern States and to their own great cities." The Society noticed

this suggestion, but did not respond favorably to it.¹⁷

In 1894, the Convention officially addressed the Society on behalf of increasing Southern participation in work among the freedmen "believing that the time has come when it should enlarge its work among the colored people of the South."¹⁸ The Convention appointed a committee consisting of T. T. Eaton, H. H. Harris, I. T. Tichenor, J. B. Gambrell, T. P. Bell, Noah K. Davis, and O. F. Gregory. The Society appointed (with some changes from the original group¹⁹) James L. Howard, T. J. Morgan, H. L. Morehouse, J. B. Thomas, E. H. Johnson, A. S. Hobart, Nathan E. Wood, and, by invitation, M. MacVicar. The combined committees met at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, on September 12, 1894. James L. Howard was elected chairman, and O. F. Gregory and Nathan E. Wood became secretaries. An excellent spirit prevailed.²⁰ After two days' deliberation the group unanimously adopted two items, and a third one, proposed by the South, was favorably considered. The first item referred to schools among the colored people. It provided that the Convention should appoint local advisory committees at points where schools were located; that the committees' sole duty was to recommend to the Society any changes thought desirable in any of the schools; that the Convention should appeal to Southern Baptists for moral and financial support of these schools, and young colored people in the South should be encouraged to attend them. The second item related to mission work among the colored. It was agreed that the Society and the Convention co-operate by the joint appointment of missionaries after proper consultation with the white and colored state conventions; that ministers' and deacons' training institutes should be held, and the missionary organ-

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ization of colored Baptists should be strengthened. The third item involved territorial limits, and was introduced by the Southern group. On this matter the Northern committee had no instructions, so it was referred to the Society with the recommendation that it be given favorable consideration. The proposition submitted by the Convention's committee urged that in work already begun on contiguous fields or the same field, all antagonism be avoided, and that in the opening of new work, localities occupied by the other organization not be entered. Subsequently both the Society and the Convention unanimously approved all three items.²¹

Secretary Morehouse of the Society commented on the compromise of Fortress Monroe in quite favorable terms. He was placed with the spirit of the meeting. He said that the committee of the Convention had proposed co-operation in educational work, while the Society's committee had proposed co-operation in missionary and institute work for the colored. It had been thought that the local advisory committees in connection with the schools would create a deeper interest among Southern whites. Morehouse expressed a hope that a further step would be taken—that the Convention would make appropriations for the support of teachers in the schools. Relative to missionary co-operation, Morehouse said that the necessity of acting in concert with the colored Baptist state conventions was strongly emphasized, and that all had agreed that this was essential. Half a dozen denominational newspapers in the North and South had written articles approving the agreement. The only criticism came from a negro editor who thought that there should have been negro representatives present.²²

The agreement was significant for both the

Society and the Convention. For the Society it appeared to promise much greater financial co-operation by the South in missions among the colored. For the Convention it represented the first formal recognition by the Society of the territorial unity of the South and the Convention as its voice. It did not mean that the Society would withdraw from its work in the South, but the Society now formally recognized a territorial convention covering the South. The crises of the past decade had warned the Society of the of overreaching its strength. Some of the Society's leaders were asking if it was within the power of the Society to care for the North and Northwest and expend as much of its funds in the South as had been demanded. ²³ The Society felt that Southern Baptists should take a hand in the task. There was a feeling, too, that this compromise might be a large step toward the organic union hoped for at some future time.

CHAPTER XIII

PRINCIPLES OF COMITY

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The inauguration of co-operation between Northern and Southern Baptists on September 12, 1894 marked a new era in American Baptist relations. It will be recalled that the early ideological tension between the Northern societies and the Southern convention forecast three possible solutions. The first involved the attaining of organic union between organizations of the two sections. This idea was rejected by the South. The second possibility would propose some sort of understanding about geographical limits in which each would operate. This idea was rejected by the Home Mission Society until 1894. The third possible solution became a reality between 1862 and 1894; namely, a shattering of the idea of geographical division. The agreement of Fortress Monroe began the co-operative relationship that signalled the close of extensive operations by the Home Mission Society in the South and constituted a major change of policy by the Society. From 1894 on, the relations between Northern and Southern Baptists have been characterized by comity agreements. After 1907 there began to develop at least the nominal recognition of a geographical boundary extending from the Atlantic to the Rio Grande. The imaginary line of demarcation might have run south of Delaware, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and Oklahoma, and, in a sense, bisected Illinois and Missouri. Each section seems to have felt some claim to southern territory west of Texas, the Society's claim resting on the fact that mission work was being conducted there,

while the Southern convention's claim emphasized the geographical location.

This is the first time in history that a geographical division of the home field for convention jurisdiction has been even inferentially understood between two general bodies of Baptists. The withdrawal of the North from the South between 1846 and 1862 was not an exception to this statement, for the North later asserted that this action was simply an "expediency" and did not imply that the southern territory was outside of its missionary jurisdiction. The Society did not abandon its work in the South after 1894, but because of its growing financial burdens and the increasing strength of the Southern convention, added to the developing conception of a territorial partition, a gradual reduction of the Society's missionary efforts in the South was effected.

Summary The conference of Fortress Monroe produced an agreement on three items. The first two called for co-operative activity by Northern and Southern Baptists on behalf of the colored race. The plan provided that each southern state should have one general missionary and not over four district missionaries for work among the colored. Expenses were to be divided between the Board of the South, the Society of the North, and the white and colored Baptist state conventions in each of the states involved. As a first step, it was necessary to secure ratification of the plan by the white and colored Baptists in the various Southern states. Colored Baptists in North Carolina accepted the plan first, followed in succession by white and colored Baptist conventions in Alabama, the South Carolina white Baptist Convention. The Southern Home Mission Board voluntarily ceased its independent co-opera-

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tive activity with the white state mission Board of Georgia in holding Ministers' Institutes for the colored leaders, and offered to co-operate in this ministry under the new agreement.

The early promise of effective co-operation in this way, however, was not realized. Some white Baptists state conventions refused to enter into it, while the colored Baptists generally either showed little interest or in many cases were so separated by factions within the states that they could not agree on any program. The Southern Board seriously and energetically endeavored to make the program a success.¹ It refused to aid colored Baptists who would not co-operate with the Society, and turned away from educational activities among the colored race since the Society was majoring in that field. Some parts of the program, it is true, were irksome to the Southern Board. In Oklahoma, for example, the Board complained that

the Society has control of the school system in the territory, collects much more money, and has different policies from the board.²

In 1902 the Board repeated its desire to co-operate with the Society in the plan, but hoped that the Society would be asked to do all the educational work among the colored and permit the Board to carry on all the evangelistic program.³ This co-operative enterprise in behalf of the colored race gradually became less effective because of difficulties encountered with both white and colored state Baptist conventions in the South.

The third recommendation of the Fortress Monroe Conference urged that the Northern Society and the Southern Board avoid all antagonism when

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working in contiguous areas, that they co-operate in every possible way, and that in the establishment of new work each should endeavor to operate in localities not occupied by the other. In itself this statement did not draw a geographical line, but the idea of a division between the sections gained general currency. A reorganization in 1907 by Northern Baptists and the assumption of a sectional name gave impetus to the idea of sectional boundaries—a complete reversal of the earlier policy of the Society. The Northern Baptist reorganization consisted of the drawing together of the three principal societies in the North into a general body, not entirely comparable to the Southern Baptist Convention but providing a centralized organizational and financial unity under the name of the Northern Baptist Convention. Agitation for some sort of central denominational body had existed for many years.⁴ The necessity for a unified financial program by the three principal societies of the North was voiced again and again. Sentiment in the three societies, resolutions by the Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society, and several mass meetings of Northern leaders between 1896 and 1906 kept the question constantly before the minds of Northern Baptists. In September, 1906, the Chicago Baptist Association adopted a resolution asserting that for many years

there has been a growing belief among our churches that there should be more coherence in our missionary work, and especially that our Baptist Anniversaries should be more helpful to denominational unity . . .

and asked that a joint meeting of all the societies should be held in May, 1907

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at which time provision be made for a permanent organization of a general association or convention representing all Northern Baptist churches.

In November of that year, in connection with another assembly in St. Louis, a mass meeting of Baptists petitioned the societies along the same lines as the resolution of the Chicago Association. On December 11, 1907, the secretaries of the three societies issued a call to consider such an organization. At the anniversaries in May, 1907 in Washington, D. C., the Northern Baptist Convention was provisionally organized.⁵ In May, 1908, at Oklahoma City, the constitution and by-laws of the new convention were adopted. Article 2 of the constitution defined the object of the convention as a desire

to give expression to the sentiment of its constituency upon matters of denominational importance and general religious and moral interest; to develop denominational unity; and to give increasing efficiency to efforts for the evangelization of America and the world.⁶

Representation in the convention was composed of delegates from churches (one from each church, plus an additional delegate for every one hundred members above the first one hundred), from local or district Associations (two from each Association, plus one additional for every ten churches represented), and from other organizations (state convention officials and executive boards or committees, as well as officers of other benevolent organizations recognized by the denomination. were granted ex-officio membership).⁷

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The relationship of the new convention to the three principal societies constituted a formidable legal problem in view of the fact that the endowments of the societies would be imperiled if the societies did not retain some semblance of perpetuity. Upon recommendation from the committee on legal relations it was arranged that each society should be governed by a board of managers consisting of twenty-seven persons

all of whom shall be elected by the society upon the nomination of the Northern Baptist Convention at its annual meeting.⁸

Each society agreed to follow the annual budget approved by the Northern Baptist Convention, and to solicit funds and incur indebtedness only under convention supervision. It was further provided that either the convention or a co-operating society could terminate the relationship by giving one year's notice.⁹ It is evident that under this arrangement additional societies could be legitimately formed among Northern Baptists, whether recognized officially by the Northern Baptist Convention or not.

This loose relationship between the convention and the functional activity of the denomination in the North is illustrated by the present complex situation. In 1920 a group of Northern leaders who objected to the liberal direction being taken by the Northern Baptist Convention in doctrine and practice organized a Fundamentalist Fellowship whose constituency included anyone who might oppose the liberal direction being followed. Its official name now (since September, 1946) is The Conservative Baptist Fellowship of Northern Baptists. In December, 1943, because the Northern convention's foreign mission

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society was following the inclusive policy (the appointment of extreme liberals as missionaries), this Fellowship organized the Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society.¹⁰ In 1944 the Fellowship asked the Northern convention for recognition as a missionary agency for conservative Baptists in the convention.¹¹ The convention denied that the Fellowship was a valid part of its organizational framework, but the existence of the Fellowship as an agency by which Northern Baptists nominally in co-operation with the Northern convention may carry on missionary activity shows the looseness of the organizational ties of the convention.¹² The Conservative Fellowship's latest plans call for the organization of a national Fellowship (for all Baptists who love the Bible) under the name of the Conservative Baptist Association of America.

The Northern Baptist Convention faced difficult comity problems long before the organization of this conservative movement. No sooner was it formed in 1907 than it was forced to consider its relations with the Southern Baptist Convention. The occasion sprang from a division among the Baptist churches of New Mexico. The Southern convention was beginning co-operative activity with some of the churches there, and the Northern convention asserted that this constituted a violation of the Fortress Monroe agreement. On April 15, 1909, a conference was held at Washington, D. C., between representatives of the Home Mission Society and the Southern convention. In the opening conversations it was agreed by all parties "that the Fortress Monroe agreement had expired and that its stipulations were not now in force or binding."¹³ This conference did not formulate any permanent plan of comity. The joint committee agreed that the Home Mission

Society withdraw from New Mexico in favor of the Southern Board, with the understanding that the problem of territorial adjustment should be considered settled for at least five years.¹⁴ However, the Southern convention insisted on amending the recommendation to provide that nothing in the agreement should be construed to limit any Baptist church, association, or other body in its freedom to choose alignment. In the judgment of the northern leaders this amendment rendered nugatory the five year provision, so their convention refused to approve the amended document and asserted the continuance of the Fortress Monroe agreement.¹⁵

The issue was not settled, however. Following a request by the Northern convention, a committee of nine from each of the two general bodies met at Old Point Comfort, Virginia, on September 27-28, 1911. In addition to considering the New Mexico situation, this committee endeavored to "formulate some basis for the conference by means of a declaration of the principles which should govern Baptist bodies in the conduct of their mission work." A sub-committee prepared a statement of principles of comity, which was adopted by the entire group. The joint committee met again on January 24-25, 1912, at Hot Springs, Arkansas, and the principles were further revised, incorporating the consensus of opinions from various Boards and Societies of the two conventions. The completed statement is significant since it has become the authoritative basis of relations between Northern and Southern Baptists. The committee freely admitted the possibility that errors of judgment had been made during the preceding half century of Baptist denominational life, but appealed to the future to rectify these errors. Three fundamental principles were asserted: (1)

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the independence of the local Baptist church; (2) the moral interdependence and co-operation of Baptist churches; and (3) the advisory nature of all denominational organizations. The committee urged that the voluntary principle should be primary in all general organizations, and that Baptist churches in a single area should organize into district associations and state conventions for their work. It was suggested that one association in a given territory and one convention in a given state constituted the ideal situation, but that local conditions might make it difficult to attain the ideal immediately. Three general principles concerning comity were formulated, as follows: (1) the giving of financial aid by a denominational body should not impair the freedom of autonomy of any church; (2) denominational organizations should carefully regard the rights of sister organizations and of the churches, to the end that unity and harmony and respect for the liberties of others should be promoted; and (3) Baptist bodies should never in any way injure the work of any other Baptist group. In specific application to the existing disturbed conditions, the committee advocated complete co-operation between the Northern and Southern Baptist Conventions. "Fraternal feeling and Christian respect" should exist in those territories exclusively occupied by one convention, and the best possible working union should be effected in states served by both conventions. It was emphasized that general denominational bodies should recognize the right of state bodies to terminate co-operation without outside interference. In case where churches in a single state were in affiliation with two general organizations, it was urged that the churches should have common district associations and, if possible, one state organization. Allocation

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of funds should be left to the administrative agencies and not be a matter of division among the churches. Designated contributions from individual churches should be applied as indicated, while undesignated contributions should be divided in an agreed proportion between the two general bodies.¹⁶

There has been no further advance in the development of principles of comity since the approval of the report of these committees by the two conventions in 1912. In 1925, growing out of tension in Arizona, a joint committee of the two conventions affirmed allegiance to these principle and urged that no church designate itself as Northern or Southern. In 1942 a protest from the Northern convention over Southern Baptist activity in California and Illinois was based upon an alleged violation of the comity principles of 1912, and in reply the Southern convention affirmed adherence to these principles.¹⁷

CHAPTER XIV

ADJUSTMENTS IN BORDER STATES

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In the two decades following the Fortress Monroe agreement there were four major excisions from Northern Baptist co-operation. The earliest of these chronologically occurred in southern Illinois. On January 31, 1907, at Pinckneyville, Illinois, the Illinois Baptist State Association was formed from churches previously affiliated with the Illinois Baptist General Association, and in May, 1910, this State Association became aligned with the Southern Baptist Convention. The constituent churches of the new State Association were located principally in southern Illinois. The movement was entirely internal and local. It was given no initial encouragement by the Southern convention, and no agencies of the Southern convention had representatives in Illinois at the time of separation.

The factors bringing about the change of alignment by Southern Illinois were both remote and immediate. This area lies geographically in a southern environment, forming a partial wedge between the southern states of Kentucky and Missouri. Early immigration came predominantly from southern states like Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The first association of Baptists was formed in this area in 1807, and it showed its southern antecedents by a pro-slavery attitude. Slavery had been introduced into this section in 1721 when some of five hundred slaves brought by Phillip Renault into the Louisiana Territory were settled in the area that became Illinois. In the cession of this country to Great Britain by France in 1763 slavery was not molested. In 1783, when

Great Britain transferred it to the United States, the institution of slavery was specifically recognized. The Ordinance of 1787, however, provided that slavery should not exist in the Northwest Territory (of which Illinois was a part), but this was interpreted as meaning that no *more* slaves could be brought into the Territory. In 1796, 1801, and 1803, efforts were made by this southern area to repeal the section of the Ordinance prohibiting slavery. The clear division of slavery sentiment between the north-central and the southern sections was revealed in a decisive referendum in 1824. The pro-slavery counties, as indicated by the votes of the people, were Alexander, Pope, Gallatin, Franklin, Jackson, Randolph, Hamilton, White, Wayne, Jefferson, and Fayette. This is the area in which the main strength of the Illinois Baptist State Association was first displayed. The vote of the northern and central sections of Illinois, on the other hand, condemned slavery. It is evident, then, that the sectional character of southern Illinois provided a distinct point of difference from the northern and central areas.

Another point of difference developed because the Home Mission Society undertook practically all of its work in the northern and central areas. This probably occurred because of the known sentiment for slavery in the southern portion, because of intense opposition from the anti-mission movement that was comparatively strong in southern Illinois, and because New England immigrants settling in northeastern counties of Illinois formed a desirable constituency for New England missionaries.¹ As a result the institutional life of Illinois Baptists fostered by the Society was contained in the northern and central areas. Furthermore, the hesitancy of the Society to work aggressively in the extreme southern

section resulted in the less extensive spread of Baptists there. The minority thus formed was always conscious of its subordinate place in the directing of state policy. Separate general bodies were formed in the southern section (1807) and in the northern (1834). In 1845 the state was unified by the formation of the Illinois Baptist General Association, which functioned until the final separation in 1907.

In addition to these basic differences between the northern and southern areas of Illinois, the immediate occasion of separation in 1907 was doctrinal. For a considerable period it had been felt by the conservative Baptists of southern Illinois that the influence of the University of Chicago was turning Baptists in the northern and central areas toward liberal doctrinal views. Disapproval was voiced, in particular, concerning open communion and theories which inveighed against the deity of Christ.² All of these antecedent and doctrinal factors were gathered up in a controversy that arose over the publication of a book entitled, *The Finality of the Christian Religion*, by Professor George B. Foster of the University of Chicago, who was minister of one of the churches in Chicago in good standing with the Chicago Baptist Association. Foster's book contained liberal views on inspiration and the deity of Christ. The Chicago Baptist Minister's Conference was asked to censure the book, but twenty-two out of the seventy Baptists ministers voting refused to take such action. One of these twenty-two was a board member of the state body.

At the meeting of the Illinois Baptist General Association in Carbondale in 1906 Editor W.P. Throgmorton of *The Illinois Baptist* offered a constitutional amendment which was intended to eliminate fellowship

with those holding these liberal tendencies. The proposed amendment read:

By a Baptist church in this constitution is meant such a Baptist church as avowedly holds and distinctly teaches, among other Bible tenets, the following: The full inspiration and authority of the Bible as the written Word of God; the absolute necessity of spiritual regeneration; salvation by grace through faith in Christ's atoning blood; scriptural baptism and membership in a Baptist church as orderly and essential prerequisites to communion at the Lord's Supper as observed among our people.³

The amendment was voted down by a margin of about three to one, but the Association immediately followed it with an overwhelming vote asserting belief in the deity of Christ and in what is generally known as close communion. Evidently most of the Association held conservative views, but would not imperil harmony by disfellowshipping of the liberal element. Following the circulation of a preliminary questionnaire by Editor Throgmorton, a meeting was held at the First Baptist Church of Pinckneyville, Illinois, on December 6, 1906, by those objecting to convention fellowship with the liberal group. After a provisional organization had been effected, an address was prepared which named the reason for the new organization as being the refusal of the old convention to reject Unitarian and open communion Baptists. It was agreed that if as many as two hundred churches should approve the idea of organizing a separate body, a new and permanent state Association would be formed. Since more than the

required number of churches answered favorably, a meeting was held on January 31, 1907, at Pinckneyville, and the organization of the Illinois Baptist State Association was perfected. In May, 1910, this new Association became affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention. Within a year after its organization the State Association had more than doubled its constituency. Its growth has been steady. Considerable tension has arisen recently because of the northward extension of its bounds. Conservative churches as far north as Chicago formed the Great Lakes Association in 1944 and affiliated with the State Association. In 1942 the Northern Baptist Convention officially protested to the Southern convention concerning the activity of the State Association, but in reply the Southern convention disclaimed any control over the Illinois body and suggested that the issue lay between the Northern convention and the Illinois State Association.⁴

The readjustment in New Mexico between Northern and Southern Baptists was not accomplished without considerable controversy and bitterness. Immigrants moved into the area at a time when the slavery issue was at white heat. The compromise of 1850 by which New Mexico was given Territorial status provided that the issue of slavery should be by-passed; consequently, both northern and southern settlers felt free to enter.

The Home Mission Society began work in New Mexico in 1849. At the Southern convention in 1894 a Texan offered the resolution that New Mexico should be entered as a mission field. After consideration by a committee the resolution was favorably reported and passed by the convention.⁵ Later in the session, however, the Home Mission Board was directed not to alter the existing situation in New Mexico until

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the pending conference with the Home Mission Society had been held. No direct reference to New Mexico was made in the recommendations of this conference; however, the agreement contained an article (proposed by Southern Baptists) recommending that in opening new work each convention turn its efforts to "localities not already occupied by other,"⁶ and this provision was later invoked against Southern Baptist operations in New Mexico. The Southern Board had been receiving frequent requests for aid from churches composed of Southern Baptists in New Mexico. Especially during 1907 and 1908 these requests became numerous and urgent. When the Southern convention looked toward assisting these churches and thus entering into official work, Corresponding Secretary H. L. Morehouse of the Society protested and cited the Fortress Monroe agreement. Already Assistant Corresponding Secretary J. F. Love of the Home Mission Board had visited New Mexico and informed Baptists there that the Board was ready to begin missionary work in that area.⁷ Much bitterness between Northern and Southern advocates was evidenced within the state, and the Southern Board requested a conference with the Society to settle the troublesome question. The Society agreed and the conference was held in Washington, D. C., on April 15, 1909. Before attacking the problem at hand, all parties at the conference expressed the belief "that the Fortress Monroe agreement had expired and that its stipulations were not now in force or binding."⁸ After a thorough discussion, the following paper was adopted:

In view of the increasing numerical and financial strength of Southern Baptists,
Resolved, that we recommend that the

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Home Mission Board upon the consent of the New Mexico Convention relieve entirely the American Baptist Home Mission Society of further responsibility for mission work, in that territory, on the understanding that the Home Board give assurance that they will put into the work in New Mexico next year an amount equal to that expended by the Home Mission Society this year and will take over the Navahoe mission property at its cost to the Home Mission Society.

Resolved, Further, that we recommend that the question of territorial adjustment on the part of both Boards be considered settled for a period of at least five years.

Resolved, Further, that in case of the approval of this arrangement by the Southern Baptist Convention and the American Baptist Home Mission Society, a joint communication be addressed to the New Mexico Baptist churches to this effect, expressing the hope that they will regard this arrangement with favor.

H. L. Morehouse, Chairman
John E. Briggs, Secretary.⁹

The Southern convention, in adopting this recommendation, modified it by inserting a statement offered by J. B. Gambrell of Texas which specifically set out that

nothing in the agreement shall be so construed as to limit any church, association, or other Baptist body in the free exercise of the inalienable right to make such align-

ments for co-operation as will, in its judgment, be for its own good and for the furtherance of the work it is in. All Baptists are, and of right ought to be, free and self-governing. For the purpose of safeguarding the agreement upon which this Convention is to pass, to the end that neither the Conference nor this Convention may be misunderstood, we would put added emphasis upon the doctrine of the absolute independence of every Baptist body.¹⁰

In its session at Portland, Oregon, in 1909, the Society refused to accept the agreement with the qualifying amendment, and asserted that the Fortress Monroe agreement was still in force. In 1910 the Home Mission Board reported to the Southern convention that it had heard nothing further from the Society, and since many New Mexico churches were seeking co-operation with the Board, the convention was requested to set forth a policy in regard to work in that state. A committee appointed for this purpose reviewed the history of relations with the Society on the New Mexico question. It insisted that the activity of the Southern convention in New Mexico was initiated, not by the convention or its representatives, but because of calls from churches and pastors there. The committee stated that co-operation by churches in New Mexico with the Southern convention was a matter for the churches themselves to decide. It recommended that if churches in New Mexico should feel that their work "can be better done and their mission more adequately accomplished" through co-operation with the Southern convention, that the Home Mission Board give whatever assistance it might feel to be expedient.¹¹ As a

result, the Board entered into co-operative relations with a number of churches and two of the associations. In December, 1910, the group favoring co-operation with the Board introduced a resolution at the annual meeting of the New Mexico Baptist Convention, which read:

Resolved, that the articles of co-operation between the Home Mission Society and this Convention be so modified as to concede: (1) the rights of the Convention to elect its own officers and workers and control its own affairs without outside supervision, control or interference from any Society or other Baptist body; and (2) the right of any Baptist church within this territory to make its own alignment with any Baptist body outside of New Mexico, without thereby disqualifying the messengers of such churches from membership in this Convention.¹²

The resolution was defeated; whereupon, the minority separated and formed the Baptist General Convention of New Mexico, looking to Southern affiliation. Within a year the new convention was composed of almost as many co-operating churches as the old one.¹³ The Executive Committee of the Northern Baptist Convention communicated with the Southern convention, expressing a desire for conference upon both the New Mexico problem and the whole matter of relations between Northern and Southern Baptists. Accordingly, on September 27-28, 1911, a meeting of the two committees took place at Old Point Comfort, Virginia. Reference has already been made to the general comity principles adopted by this joint committee. Relative to the New Mexico problem,

a sub-committee consisting of two from each section was appointed to visit New Mexico and bring a report to the joint committee at a meeting to be held in Hot Springs, Arkansas. The sub-committee visited New Mexico during the latter days of October, 1911, conferring with both of the New Mexico state bodies and taking stenographic statements concerning the controversy. At the meeting on January 24-25, 1912, in Hot Springs, Arkansas, this sub-committee recommended a plan for readjustment of affairs in New Mexico. It called for the organization of a new state convention under a new name, composed of the two existing rival conventions. A new constitution was to be prepared which would provide for co-operation with general bodies on such terms as would permit complete local autonomy. It was advised that a new secretary be elected (to be neither of the present secretaries of the two conventions) and that the new convention should effect affiliation solely with the Southern convention. This plan was adopted by representatives of the Society, the Home Mission Board, and the two New Mexico conventions, and subsequently by the Northern and Southern conventions. The joint committee expressed profound appreciation for the splendid work of the Northern group in New Mexico in past years and for its spirit in "relinquishing New Mexico to the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention."¹⁴ The sub-committee on New Mexico gave three reasons for its recommendation to transfer the work in New Mexico to the Southern convention. First, it was felt that only one state body should exist for affiliation with one general convention. Second, the geographical position of New Mexico, in that it was south of the northern boundary of the Southern convention,

suggested the advisability of Southern affiliation. Finally,

the chief consideration in the minds of the committee was the fact that the tide of immigration into New Mexico from Texas and other Southern States in recent years had been so great. The result has been that the population of New Mexico has become largely Southern in tradition and sympathy and preference. This condition, taken in connection with the others which have been mentioned, seemed to the committee a sufficient ground to warrant it in adopting the plan as above outlined.¹⁵

The third adjustment in Baptist state affiliations occurred in Oklahoma (and what was formerly known as Indian Territory). This area was southern in both the background of a large majority of its constituency and its general sympathy with the institution of slavery. Even the Indians, especially the Creeks and Cherokees, held slaves, having shared this type of culture before removing to the West after 1830. The Home Mission Society had sent its missionaries among the Indians before the emigration from the southeastern states and since the arrival in the new territory. Especially after 1845, following the separation between the Society and Southern Baptists, the missionaries of the Society made themselves quite unpopular in Indian Territory by endeavoring to eliminate slaveholding. Meanwhile, even before the organization of the Southern convention in 1845, southern Baptists had endeavored to reach the Indians. The American Indian Mission Association had been organized in 1843 at Louisville,

Kentucky, for that purpose. In 1855 the Southern convention absorbed this Association and its Indian work. During the war, sentiment in Indian Territory concerning slavery divided sharply, and the area became a battleground. After 1865 the Southern convention was financially unable to carry on mission activity in the Territory. Conceding that many areas of Indian Territory had been considered Southern Baptist fields but asserting that the call of Christ to preach the gospel outweighed ecclesiastical courtesy, the northern society appointed missionaries throughout the Territory. The story of Joseph S. Murrow has already been sketched. The controversy which he had with the Southern Board resulted in his resignation on July 15, 1891, and he was quickly appointed as a missionary of the Society in the same territory. For the next decade the antagonism between Northern and Southern Baptists in both Indian and Oklahoma Territory was quite pronounced. In March, 1901, there began a series of harmonious conferences which in 1906 resulted in the formation of the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma. This body gathered up previous state organizations in what had been the two Territories, and also unified the sectional conventions which had specifically represented the Society and the Board. The new convention adopted dual alignment, sending funds both to the Society and to the Board.

The question of alignment had plagued Oklahoma leaders for years. The predominant southern population of Oklahoma was constantly being augmented by new southern immigrants. Friction developed over the allocation of funds by the Society and the proper method of determining such allocation. Apparently the settlement in New Mexico provided the decisive argument. A committee of the Okla-

homa convention noted the reasons given by the joint Northern-Southern committee for recommending that New Mexico adopt single alignment with the Southern convention. In each reason set forth, said the Oklahoma committee, the facts applied with more weight to Oklahoma than to New Mexico; consequently, at a meeting in November, 1914, the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma voted to adopt single alignment with the Southern convention. The question of doctrine was not involved.

The reasons assigned for the action were that it was best in Oklahoma, as it was in New Mexico, for a State Convention to be affiliated with only one general society and that the preponderating sectional element in the denomination in the State should determine which one it should be.¹⁶

It has been mentioned that in the state of Missouri a plan of double alignment was effected in the last decade of the nineteenth century. A great deal of dissatisfaction and friction continued, however. For example, the State Board found it necessary to prepare a special type of literature for home and foreign missions, since under the dual alignment agreement the literature of neither the Northern nor the Southern convention could be sent indiscriminately to churches. In 1911 both the northern and southern general bodies appointed committees to study the question. The joint committee recommended that single alignment in a given state was the ideal situation; that the matter should be determined by majority sentiment; and that should any state declare for single alignment, the other convention should withdraw all of its agents. In 1919, sixty-one of the

eighty-one associations and hundreds of the 1870 churches co-operating with the General Association voted (in most cases unanimously) for single alignment with the Southern Baptist Convention. At that time there were about sixteen churches wholly aligned with the Northern convention, about 146 churches which divided their offerings between the North and the South, and other institutions of the state aligned with both of the conventions. Because an overwhelming majority did favor single alignment with the Southern convention, the Missouri Baptist General Association voted such alignment on October 22, 1919, with the understanding that any person or church preferring to co-operate with the Northern convention could do so without censure, and at the same time could retain membership in the Association in all state work. Since no means were provided for the formation of a new organization whereby churches desiring to affiliate with the Northern convention might receive literature and assistance, it was agreed that the northern bodies might work directly with the churches and institutions in Missouri desiring to affiliate with them.¹⁷

By 1919, then, southern Illinois, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Missouri had effected the affiliation that exists at the present time.

CHAPTER XV

AREAS OF PRESENT TENSION

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At the present time there are several areas in which tension exists between the churches affiliated with the Northern Baptist Convention and those co-operating with the Southern Baptist Convention. These include Arizona, California, Washington, Oregon, Alaska, and Kansas.¹ An effort will now be made to describe briefly the historical beginnings of this tension.

The territory now in the state of Arizona was purchased by the United States after her war with Mexico in 1848. It was designated as a Territory on February 24, 1863, and on February 14, 1912, was admitted as a state. The Society evidently sent missionaries into the territory as early as 1863. In the summer of 1881 the Arizona Central Baptist Association was formed. It held no meetings until 1893, when a new Association (the Arizona Baptist Association) was organized. In 1901 its name was changed to the Arizona Baptist Convention.

During the early period the principal religious groups in Arizona were the Roman Catholics, who had entered in the sixteenth century, and the Mormons, whose westward trek toward Utah in the middle of the nineteenth century had given them a foothold here. The number of Baptists increased slowly, most of them representing immigrants from other states, both northern and southern. In 1893 there were five Baptist churches with 218 members; in 1917 the number had grown to forty-four churches and 2,721 members.² In the last year named, an

organizational schism was inaugurated, which marked the beginning of a new era.

Tension among churches affiliated with the Northern Baptist Convention began in about 1917. In March of that year, after a public disputation, a group of members left the First Baptist Church of Phoenix and organized the Calvary Baptist Church in the same city. The division was based on doctrinal differences, the Calvary group objecting to liberal positions held by leaders in the First Baptist Church. The new church continued co-operation with the Northern Baptist Convention, but secured a southern man, C. M. Rock of Asheville, North Carolina as its pastor. During this period many of the churches in Arizona opposed doctrinal views and denominational practices of Northern Baptist leaders. In 1920 the Arizona Baptist Convention refused to co-operate in the Interchurch World Movement, and in 1924 passed a series of resolutions deprecating the alignment between the Northern convention and the Federal Council of Churches and other policies described as liberal. In interpreting succeeding developments in Arizona, it is significant that in 1926 a resolution was presented at the Arizona Baptist Convention which aimed to disfellowship those who practiced alien immersion. Because this was a divisive issue, the resolution was tabled.³ The fact that the Conservative Baptist Fellowship of Chicago has received considerable support among Northern Baptist churches in Arizona suggests that the tabling of this motion did not prove the predominance of liberal doctrinal views among the members, but indicated, rather, a refusal to introduce the doctrinal question as a basis for fellowship.

On March 27, 1921, a group from the Calvary Baptist Church of Phoenix (referred to in the pre-

vious paragraph) withdrew and formed the First Southern Baptist Church, with C. M. Rock as pastor. This was the first of a number of churches formed principally of southerners which were organized as a protest against the liberal direction being taken by the Northern convention, particularly in the matter of open communion, alien immersion, and interdenominational comity agreements. In August, 1921, the Calvary church joined the Southwestern Baptist Association of New Mexico, which was affiliated with the Southern convention. On October 29, 1925, representatives of ten churches of like mind formed the Gambrell Memorial Association of Arizona, and in the following month this Association was recognized by the New Mexico convention. On September 21, 1928, the Baptist General Convention of Arizona was organized under the leadership of C. M. Rock. In May of the following year this body became auxiliary to the Southern convention.⁴

The official relations of the Southern convention and its Boards with the Arizona churches were a matter of discussion as early as 1925. In that year the Southern convention received a letter from the Northern convention asking for the appointment of a committee of conference relative to the Arizona situation. The combined committee of the two conventions that resulted from this request asked that no churches include the words "Northern" or "Southern" in their names. The committee hastened to add that this was no reflection upon any church that had already done so, nor was it a request that such churches change their names. It was recommended that representatives of the Southern convention and its agencies be withheld from Arizona, save those ministering to the churches already aligned with the Southern convention. Calling attention to

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the principles of comity adopted in 1912, it was further urged that "all divisive propaganda and unfraternal activity" be avoided.⁵ In 1929, following the seating of the Arizona representatives in the Southern convention, the Sunday School Board appropriated \$15,000 to the Arizona Baptist General Convention for assistance in Sunday School and mission work. This brought a torrent of criticism from all interested parties. In explanation the annual report from the Sunday School Board for the following year said,

We had presented to us during the year an interesting and perplexing situation. The Convention at the sesison of 1929 appointed brethren from Arizona, who had previously been seated as messengers in the Convention, as members of the Executive Committee, and of the Foreign and Home Boards, thus giving recognition to a constituency in that state. Our workers were asked to give their services to these churches whose affiliation had been recognized by the Convention's action. The Arizona brethren had meanwhile organized and placed an agent in the field to do Sunday school and B.Y.P.U. work, and asked help in this work. No other convention agency seemed able to assist them. In this emergency we, without precedent to work on, did not feel that it was just to leave them unassisted for the few months remaining until this meeting, so we aided them to keep their organization intact until the Southern Baptist Convention met, but on the express condition that no use should be made of this as in any way pledging Con-

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vention action. We now present our action for the Convention's approval.⁶

The convention approved the action and authorized its Sunday School Board to continue such help.

On May 14, 1932, the Arizona Baptist Convention (Northern) passed a resolution protesting the recognition of Arizona as a field for Southern Baptist work. The resolution reviewed the excellent program maintained by the Home Mission Society during the preceding sixty-two years, and asserted that the entrance of Southern Baptists had divided some churches and brought much strife. It was further stated that the entrance of Southern Baptists brought "a duplication of effort and a waste of money" and that "every Baptist church in Arizona in affiliation with the Northern Baptist Convention is Baptistically sound and loyal to the faith once for all delivered." The request was made, accordingly, that the Southern Baptist Convention reconsider its policy relative to territory already occupied by the Northern Baptist Convention, and the resolution closed by saying,

It ought to be plainly understood by all that there is no more scriptural or moral or ethical reason why Southern Baptists should be at work in this state than there is that Northern Baptists should be at work in territory already occupied by them.

In reply the Executive Committee of the Southern Baptist Convention said that the organization of another convention in Arizona did not result from the activities of any Southern Baptist Convention agency, and that the two Arizona conventions alone had the

responsibility of adjusting matters of difference. It was urged that the Arizona brethren "strive for the promotion of good will and concert of action among themselves."⁷

A second point of tension at the present time exists in the state of California. This state also formed a part of the area ceded to the United States by Mexico after the war of 1848. Two years later, following the gold rush, California was admitted as a state. The first missionary of the Society arrived in San Francisco early in 1849. Division on the question of slavery marked the presence of both northern and southern immigrants.

In the first four decades of the twentieth century the population of California increased from about two million to beyond eight million. Almost one-third of this increase was composed of immigrants from southern states, especially Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. Economic and military factors combined in the 1930's to increase the number of southern immigrants into California. Their cultural, social, and doctrinal inheritances combined to give them a sense of aloofness from the churches affiliated with the Northern convention. Doctrinal disagreement was set out as the foremost factor. In particular, the alignment of the Northern convention with the Federal Council of Churches, the allocation of mission territory, the practice of alien immersion and open communion, and the inclusive policy relative to missions constitute the base of dissent. In this state, also, many churches continuing to affiliate with the Northern convention had protested sharply against liberal doctrinal views.⁸ Southern Baptists began forming themselves into independent churches as early as 1936, claiming affiliation with no general body. Later, many of these entered into co-operation

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with the southern group.⁹ On July 7, 1938 at Ontario, California, the First Southern Baptist Church was organized by J. E. Hill, a Baptist minister who had emigrated from Missouri. In the following year the First Southern Baptist Association was formed, and on September 13, 1940, the Southern Baptist General Convention of California was constituted.¹⁰ The revised constitution of the state body indicated its intention to co-operate with the Southern convention.¹¹ At the 1942 session of the Southern convention in San Antonio, Texas, consideration was given to a petition from California asking affiliation with the convention. The chairman of the committee to whom the petition had been referred the year before was absent, and it was asked that the petition be continued for another year. However, a substitute recommendation was offered by J. B. Rounds, a member of the committee, who moved "that the Southern Baptist General Convention of the state of California be admitted to membership in the Southern Baptist Convention."¹² This passed almost unanimously. On June 20, 1942, a communication by the General Council of the Northern Baptist Convention protested the admission of the California body into the Southern convention, stating that

these movements in California and elsewhere weaken our Baptist witness, cause unnecessary duplication of cost, seriously jeopardize our mutual confidence, and nullify much of our effort and purpose in the establishment of an enriching and mutually profitable fellowship.

The Northern council also indicated their objection to the action by asserting that the principles of

comity adopted in 1912 forbade recognition of the California group *as a body*. They recommended that the Southern convention refrain from accepting any group of churches as a corporate body and that the churches in California be regarded simply as individual churches. It was also suggested that each convention refrain from promotional activity beyond the area recognized at that time as belonging to each. In reply, the Southern committee affirmed its adherence to the comity principles of 1912 and admitted that the recognition of the California churches *as a body* was an unfortunate wording of the motion. It proposed to correct this mistake by regarding the Southern churches in California as individual churches. It was further agreed that Southern agencies would not carry on promotional work in California except through the churches co-operating with the Southern convention. The Southern convention later approved the reply of this committee, but specifically stated that nothing in any agreement should prevent Southern Baptists from carrying on their work in California.¹³ On February 11, 1946, Fred A. McCaulley was appointed by the Home Mission Board as General Field Worker, Western States, and was commissioned to carry on mission work in New Mexico, Arizona, and California, and to assist the churches co-operating in the work of the Southern convention.

Although the areas comprising Oregon, Washington, and Alaska developed somewhat independently, they are related in the growth of Baptists. Oregon was admitted as a state in 1859, and Washington followed thirty years later. Alaska was purchased from Russia in 1867, and in 1912 was given limited Territorial status. Baptist churches were organized in Oregon and Washington in 1844 before any general body had sent missionaries. In the following year

Ezra Fisher arrived as the Society's first missionary. In June, 1848, at Malatin Plains, Oregon, the Willamette Baptist Association was organized, and in October, 1871, at Olympia, Washington, the Puget Sound Baptist Association became the pioneer organization in that area. Efforts were made in Oregon to form a state body, but these were fruitless. In 1866, the Baptist Convention of Oregon and Washington Territory was formed (although its name was twice changed within five years). This convention became impotent by 1873, and was virtually killed in 1875 by the action of the Puget Sound Association in severing relations with it. On June 26, 1877 at Albany, Oregon, the Baptist Missionary and Educational Society was born; in 1879 its name was changed to the Baptist Convention of the North Pacific Coast. In 1880 it entered into a plan of cooperation with the Home Mission Society, naming its field as Oregon, Washington, Idaho Territory, and British Columbia. This convention was permanently dissolved in 1885, partly because of opposition to Superintendent J. C. Baker of the Society, partly from dissatisfaction with the methods of the Society in the appointment of missionaries, and partly through Landmark influence. The Oregon Baptist State Convention was organized in the following year and has maintained its life to the present. In Washington, two conventions operated until 1931, when the Washington Baptist Convention was organized.¹⁴

Throughout all of this unsettled period of beginnings, there were those who objected to co-operation with the Home Mission Society. Anti-missionism, misunderstanding, and doctrinal disagreement lay in the background. The doctrinal element was responsible for the organization in October, 1892, of the East Oregon Baptist Convention, later called the

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Convention of the North Pacific Coast. This was formed by southern immigrants principally and asserted Landmark views. Two cardinal principles were emphasized: no fellowship with churches that received alien immersion and "no oppointment of missionaries who are not Landmarkers." This group applied to the Home Mission Society for membership, but was refused since there was already one convention representing the state of Oregon. It then applied to the Southern convention. The missionary of the Society for the West felt that the new body's

dividing, destroying work proposed can be accomplished only by the endorsement and financial co-operation of the Southern Convention. We cannot believe that the brethren of the South will adopt a course so unjust to the Home Mission Society and so disastrous to the cause of Christ.¹⁵

The Society was quite concerned about the attitude of the Southern convention. Representatives were sent in 1894 to the meeting of the convention at Dallas, Texas. A long historical resume of the circumstances was provided, mentioning, among other things, that the East Oregon convention would not recognize any territorial boundaries.¹⁶ The Southern convention refused to recognize the new body.¹⁷

The movement forming immediate antecedents to the present tension was that of the Interstate Baptist Mission Fellowship. This was organized in 1943 by a group of churches in Washington, Oregon, and Northern California who disagreed with the doctrinal views of the Northern convention relative to alien immersion, open communion, affiliation with the Federal Council of Churches, the inclusive policy,

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and other positions supported by the northern body. Most of these churches had been affiliated with the Middle Oregon Baptist Association which broke away from the Northern convention in 1925 when the inclusive policy in the employment of missionaries was adopted. These churches felt the burden of ministering to the increasing population of the Northwest (including many emigrants from the South) and desired some sort of union for strength and fellowship. Two men, R. L. Powell (formerly of Texas), pastor of Temple Baptist Church of Tacoma, Washington, and Leonard B. Sigle (from Oklahoma and Texas), pastor of the First Baptist Church of Longview, Washington, were largely responsible for the organization and success of the Interstate Baptist Mission Fellowship, with its aggressive program of missions, education, and publicity. A great deal of emphasis was placed upon the autonomy of the churches, and as a result the Fellowship was so loosely organized that any Baptist church which was sympathetic with its program could affiliate without effecting organic union. By 1946 about twenty-seven churches in Oregon, Washington, and California, comprising over three thousand members, were co-operating with it. About half of these churches had pastors from the South, and many of the members were southern. Some of the constituent churches had affiliation with other bodies. For example, the Temple Baptist Church of Tacoma, Washington, in addition to membership in the Fellowship was also associated with the General Association of Regular Baptists, and the Trinity Baptist Church of Vancouver, Washington, was related both to the Fellowship and the Southern Baptist Convention. In Oregon, the First Baptist Churches at Madras and at Cloverdale, and the Lone Pine Baptist Church at

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Terrebonne were loosely affiliated with the Fellowship and were organically members of the Middle Oregon Baptist Association. At the same time, the First Baptist Churches of Longview, Washington, and Klamath Falls, Oregon, and the Antioch Baptist Church of Portland, Oregon, were also affiliated with the Fellowship and the Middle Oregon Association. These latter three became affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention, while the former three maintained their affiliation with the Middle Oregon Association, which has drifted toward the Landmark position. Some of the churches of the Fellowship regularly sent foreign mission funds to southern state conventions for transmission to the Southern Foreign Mission Board. ¹⁸

Recognizing the general policy of the Home Mission Board, Field Worker Fred A. McCaulley consistently refused to enter Washington and Oregon despite invitations by some of the leaders in the Fellowship. However, in August, 1946, he accepted the invitation of the Trinity Baptist Church of Vancouver, Washington, for a speaking engagement. The pastor of this church was a southerner and the church had already requested membership in the Southern Baptist Convention of California. During this visit the Field Worker was invited to speak at the Assembly of the Fellowship being held nearby at Camp Arrah Wana. He found that the churches of the Fellowship contained many Southern Baptists, and that many were using literature of the Southern convention and sending their young people to denominational schools in the South.

A further step developed because of doctrinal affinity and cordial fellowship with California Southern Baptists, augmented by discouraging elements touching the personnel and program of the Fellow-

ship. In the early Spring of 1947, Field Worker McCaulley held revival meetings in the churches at Longview, Washington and Portland, Oregon, both of which were contemplating affiliation with the California southern convention.¹⁹ In the following month the Fellowship voted to dissolve and on April 25, 1947, the Northwest Baptist Association was organized.²⁰ The seven churches constituting the original membership voted affiliation with the California southern convention. A Southern Baptist was secured as the first missionary of the Association. On April 13, 1948, at Portland, Oregon, messengers from churches in Washington and Oregon organized the Baptist General Convention of Oregon. Two Associations were recognized by this body, one consisting of churches in Oregon, and one of churches in Washington. Application for recognition of this general body was made at the meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention in May, 1948. The matter was referred to a committee.

Only recently has there developed interest among Baptists concerning an aggressive mission program in the Alaskan outpost of America. In 1893, after appeals by the New England Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society, a Baptist orphanage was constructed near Kodiak. Support for this institution has come mainly from the women's mission society and individuals. The Home Mission Society also established a mission within the town of Kodiak in 1935, which in 1941 was organized as the Community Baptist Church. Various surveys of the territory have been made at widely spaced intervals, and occasionally a missionary has served for a brief time. In January, 1920, the interdenominational council on home missions assigned to Northern Baptists certain areas in Alaska for cultivation. How-

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ever, the 80,000 square miles so allotted contained only about 3,000 people, and since the only initial cost and continuing expense would be considerable, nothing was done.²¹

In 1943, to care for Southern Baptist soldiers assigned to the camp at Anchorage, Alaska, a small church was established under the leadership of Chaplain Aubrey C. Halsell. After the chaplain had been assigned to another station, the soldiers themselves carried on the work for over a year. The present pastor, Felton H. Griffin, arrived in 1945 and instituted an aggressive program. The presence of Southern Baptists in Alaska also accounted for the organization of churches at Fairbanks and Juneau and missions at Ketchikan, Fairbanks, and Anchorage. In the fall of 1936 the Interstate Baptist Mission Fellowship officially undertook the assistance of some of these churches, and when this Fellowship dissolved, the new Northwest Association adopted the same program. Also in 1946 the Alaska Baptist churches united in a loose organization entitled the Alaska Baptist Convention.²² This body circulated a petition at the meeting of the Southern Convention in 1947, asking to be recognized as a co-operating body, but no official consideration resulted. Recently, Field Worker Fred A. McCaulley visited the Alaskan churches to survey the work being done, since some of them were co-operating directly with state bodies affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention.

The background of the tension existing in Kansas may be sketched quickly. The area comprising the present state was designated as Kansas Territory in 1885, and in 1861 was admitted to the Union. It was nicknamed "Bloody Kansas" on account of internal strife over the slavery question. The Society

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began its work in Kansas in 1855, and labored extensively there. In June, 1860, the Kansas Baptist Convention was organized at Atchison. Co-operation between the state convention and the Society resulted in aggressive and extensive home mission activity in the state until the third decade of the twentieth century. A period of rapid decline in such work had existed since that time.

The development of dissenting Baptist churches in Kansas began in the early part of this century. The location of the churches involved is quite suggestive. Between 1911 and 1935 approximately eleven churches along the borders of the Missouri and Oklahoma state lines left the Kansas Baptist Convention and secured affiliation with Missouri and Oklahoma associations which co-operated with the Southern convention. These churches contained a Southern Baptist constituency and in many cases were led by pastors from the southern area. Affiliation with the Southern convention through associations in Missouri and Oklahoma could not continue as a permanent arrangement. For one thing, the gifts of the Kansas churches for home missions could not be used for mission work in Kansas. It was unthinkable that a Missouri or Oklahoma association affiliated with the Southern convention would endeavor to carry on a home mission program in Kansas. The Kansans felt that such activity was sorely needed. Furthermore, the distance that the Kansas messengers were required to travel in order to attend meetings in Missouri and Oklahoma marked the situation as temporary. Added to these factors were the natural state loyalty of the Kansas group and their desire to assert a program under the leadership of their own men. The Kansans concluded that a state southern organization was nec-

essary.

In November, 1945, N. J. Westmoreland, then pastor of the Emmanuel Baptist Church at Coffeyville, Kansas, which was affiliated with the Delaware-Osage Association of Oklahoma, initiated a movement of fellowship among Kansas churches co-operating with the Southern convention. The Kansas Southern Baptist Fellowship was organized, but on March 19, 1946, at Chetopa, Kansas, this was channeled into the Kansas Convention of Southern Baptist Churches, which held its initial meeting after organization on October 14, 1946. The new group expressed itself as objecting to the Kansas Baptist Convention because the northern body espoused alien immersion and open communion, educational requirements before ordination, and the program of the Federal Council of Churches, and because it was not conducting an aggressive effort to reach the unchurched in Kansas.

In May, 1947, this Kansas southern body petitioned the Southern convention for recognition. A committee was appointed according to the provisions of By-Law 17 of the Constitution, and four members of it made a careful investigation in Kansas. On February 4, 1948, the entire committee met with a group from the Kansas convention for discussion. As a result, the committee of the Southern convention recommended that because of the fluid state of affairs in Kansas, its recognition as a co-operating constituency be delayed pending further developments, "but that we grant all agencies and boards of our Convention the privilege of lending all such aid in these churches and associations in Kansas as may be deemed advisable." The committee published its report prior to the meeting of the Southern convention in 1948, asserting that the Kansas problem was

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"only a part of a much larger problem which the Southern Baptist Convention now faces," and urging that "our Convention should now face the larger problem which it has repeatedly encountered in recent years through the application for recognition by Baptist constituencies outside of our Convention." It was further recommended that by the appointment of a special committee of seven the convention should "set itself to the task of setting forth principles and procedures by which it will be guided in its decisions on all such applications in the future."²³ However, when the Southern convention met in May, 1948, it voted to accept the Kansas group as a co-operating constituency without further delay, and no additional committee to study the entire matter was felt to be necessary.

CHAPTER XVI

WHITHER BOUND



This entire resume of relations between Northern and Southern Baptists falls naturally into two divisions: the era before 1894 when no comity agreements prevailed, and the period since 1894 when such agreements have been attempted. During the first of these periods, there is evidence of sectional tension as early as 1862, when missionaries from the northern Home Mission Society followed the advancing Union armies into the southern states. This tension increased between 1867 and 1886, as northern Societies affiliated officially with white Baptist conventions in the states of Mississippi, Georgia, Texas, and Arkansas. Tension was also apparent in Oklahoma (and Indian Territory) and Missouri, where the clash between northern and southern missionary efforts brought open strife. With the exception of Oklahoma and Missouri, the tension had disappeared in these states before 1894 by reason of the withdrawal of the northern Society. Although the Society's withdrawal from Oklahoma (in 1914) occurred after the close of the initial period, the pattern of the earlier era is reproduced, the disappearance of tension following the withdrawal of the Society. The Missouri Baptist General Association, which had followed a plan of dual alignment for almost a generation, voted sole affiliation with the Southern convention in 1919.

In no case occurring in the first period was the Society's withdrawal occasioned by any doctrinal controversy. Perhaps it should also be mentioned that there is no evidence in the documents that the

Society was *driven* from the Southern field.¹ Withdrawal came through the considered policy of the Society, which was doubtless influenced by the stringent financial burdens already borne, the challenge of enlarging opportunities in the West, and the predominant southern constituencies in the states involved.

Except in the cases of Oklahoma and Missouri (which were intimately linked up with the first period), the tension that has developed in the last period (1894 on) falls into a decidedly different pattern. The new situation resulted from two factors. The Southern Baptist Convention, for one thing, did not initiate work in the new areas of tension and therefore could not ease the tension by withdrawing. In the second place, churches which subsequently affiliated with the Southern convention introduced a point of doctrinal conviction as their reason for separate organization and their refusal to affiliate with the Northern convention. These factors have rendered it manifestly impossible for general bodies to bring harmony by territorial agreement, for the two conventions have no authority to require conformity by a Baptist church.

The development of tension during the second period has generally followed a common pattern. One basic factor has never been lacking: there have always been Baptist immigrants from the South as the cause of tension. These have either emigrated from southern states to the territory in its formative days or have moved there later for war work or other reasons. The second constant factor has been a dissatisfaction by the southern emigrants with the Northern convention churches already in the area. Sometimes this dissatisfaction lies dormant for a period; sometimes it flares up quickly.

The immediate occasion for the disaffection has always been alleged to be doctrinal, although social and cultural inheritances doubtless contributed their part. There has then usually followed the organization of a church not affiliated with the Northern Baptist Convention, and the next step has brought affiliation with a southern body in another state. The increase of dissenting churches, augmented by the discomfort of traveling long distances for meetings, the prevalence of state loyalty, and the desire for an indigenous leadership, has encouraged the organization of a state body to affiliate directly with the Southern Baptist Convention.

There are, of course, some deviations from the details of this pattern. In southern Illinois, for example, the common characteristic of a southern population existed, separation came on the basis of a doctrinal disagreement, a new and independent state body was formed, and, after a brief period, application was made to the Southern convention for affiliation. In New Mexico, as well, the presence of a southern population was evident, separation on the basis of doctrinal disagreement took place, and by common agreement between the Society and the Convention a state body was formed which looked to the Southern convention for affiliation. In Oregon the Middle Oregon Association split away from the state convention in 1925 on doctrinal grounds and became an independent Association. That a large base of southern population made up the constituency of the churches cannot be doubted, for the southern Landmark influence which caused tension in 1894 has been perpetuated among the churches to the present time. Churches in the Interstate Mission Fellowship and the Northwest Association had southern antecedents in both constituency and leadership.

Affiliation was secured with Southern Baptists in a nearby state, and then, owing to long distances and other factors, a state convention was organized for co-operation directly with the Southern convention.

This general pattern has been criticized in both Northern and Southern circles. For one thing, it has been asserted that Southern Baptists, when entering a state where Northern Baptist churches already exist, should align themselves with such churches. To this the dissident groups answer that they are stopped by liberal doctrinal views to which they cannot acquiesce. The rejoinder has come many times that doctrinal criticism of Northern Baptist churches is not justified in most cases. A casual examination reveals that the doctrinal objections alleged by the southerners revolve about a common center—open communion, alien immersion, affiliation of the Northern convention with the Federal Council of Churches, interdenominational comity agreements, and the inclusive policy in missionary appointments. Without attempting to pass judgment upon the correctness of the positions assumed but simply to set forth the historical record, it can be observed that the Northern convention has followed the leadership of liberals in determining its policies. In 1922, by two to one the convention outvoted a conservative motion to adopt the New Hampshire Confession of Faith as that of the convention, and approved the latitudinarian maneuver of a recognized liberal.² Since the 1920's the convention has steered a course of co-operation with interdenominational bodies, which has resulted in comity agreements with other denominations relative to the partition of mission fields. The convention's choice of resolutions in 1926 resulted in the declaration that

"only immersed members will be recognized as delegates to the convention," which in practice became a recognition that Baptist churches could depart from immersion as the sole baptismal mode and still have (from among their immersed members) representatives in the Northern convention.³ In 1946 the convention turned away from the resolution by an Arizona conservative which attempted to eliminate the inclusive policy in the appointment of missionaries, and a broad substitute was adopted.⁴ This general direction has had strong reactions from Baptists in many states. For the most part, however, the churches in the border states already related to the Northern convention have felt it to be wise and consistent to continue co-operation, despite the fact that many of them disagreed with the course pursued. The Conservative Fellowship of Chicago is now attracting some of these. When Southern Baptist immigrants refused to align themselves with the Northern convention because of these liberal policies, there came antagonism between them and the churches affiliated with the Northern convention, even though some of the churches might be conservative in doctrine.⁵ As a normal development, doubtless because some churches in the border states were admitted liberal and because the Northern convention with which they affiliated had taken liberal positions, Southern Baptist immigrants have looked uneasily at all churches affiliated with the Northern convention.

In the second place, criticism has been aimed at the practice by southern groups in some states of organizing churches in the vicinity of existing Northern convention churches. The early history of some southern movements lends weight to this criticism. In Arizona, for example, the new southern group

had a severe struggle for existence during the decade from 1930 to 1940, and as a result most churches organized were those constituted by dissenting Southern Baptists in the cities where Northern Baptist churches were located. It is evident in these cases that there was no alternative for the objecting groups than to organize their churches in the city or town where they lived; this being the case, the statement that Southern Baptist churches were organized in the same areas as the Northern Baptist churches is correct. Since 1941, however, aggressive missionary efforts have been put forth in Arizona cities and towns where no Baptist work has been carried on before. The principal growth that Arizona Southern Baptists have enjoyed (apart from the initial impetus in division) has come from the tilling of new ground in hitherto unreached areas. It is yet too early to assize the direction to be taken in other areas.

The third general criticism of this pattern probes the heart of the problem. The Southern convention, says both northern and southern critics, should refuse to recognize the new bodies which are organized in states outside of the South, thus eliminating the tension. It may be observed that this is the only step in the entire pattern in which the general body has authority. The first several steps of the pattern are taken by autonomous bodies which cannot be controlled by a general Baptist body. The Southern convention, for example, could not forbid southern emigrants to Alaska from organizing a Baptists church, nor could it interfere when a group of such churches formed a district association or state convention. But, it has been asserted, at the point of recognition of such bodies the Southern convention does have the right to take decisive action. Before discussing the question further, it

would be well to set out some definitions. How does the Southern convention bestow recognition? There are two distinct ways in which this is done. The first is described in Article III of the Constitution, which provides that any missionary Baptist church may send messengers to the Southern convention by contributing financially to the work of the convention during the presiding fiscal year. This was amended in 1948 to require a co-operative spirit also. The amount of the contribution and the size of the church determine the number of messengers allowed, up to a maximum of ten. This means that according to the Constitution there can be no geographical limitation upon Baptist churches "in the United States and its territories" who may sincerely desire to affiliate with the Southern convention. Here is the basis for tension, since the conception has developed that whenever such local churches send messengers to the convention, the Boards of the convention may send workers to assist those churches. The entrance of representatives from the Boards of the Southern convention has been the main target for the protests of Northern leaders. This being true, it follows that without reference to the recognition of groups of Baptist as co-operating constituencies, the Southern convention's Constitution itself contains the seeds of tension. It should be added that from the very first, each general organization of Baptists in America has defined itself as national in scope. This was true in the organization of the foreign mission society in 1814, the publication society in 1824, the home mission society in 1832, the Southern convention in 1845, and the Northern convention in 1907-8. From a constitutional standpoint, then, there has always been a complete overlapping of territories, and the broad basis of representation has

made it inevitable that tension should arise. It is surprising that it has come so late. As a matter of fact, the schism of 1845 did not contemplate a strictly geographical division, but proposed a Southern organization, national in scope, with which both northern and southern churches could affiliate. Both northern and southern bodies left each church or auxiliary completely free to affiliate with either, neither, or both. This has caused some to feel that the only method of relieving constitutional tension would be to amend the various documents so as to make geographical boundaries take precedence over the recognition of missionary Baptist churches, or so to interpret recognition as to deny the right of agencies of the conventions to assist churches which have sent qualified messengers.

The second type of recognition by the Southern convention is defined in By-Law 17, which reads:

Any Baptists within a state, desiring recognition as a co-operating constituency of this Convention, shall file their application with the Secretary before the annual meeting of the Convention, stating the number of Baptists in the churches which desire co-operative relations and the amount of money given to the work of the Convention during the preceding year. This application shall be referred to a committee of one from each co-operating state who shall investigate all matters pertaining to the request and make report to the next annual meeting for its action. When groups so received have 25,000 members in their churches, they shall be represented by members on boards and the Executive Committee.

This recognition, of course, represents the final step to full co-operation. So far as tension between Northern and Southern Baptists is concerned, however, this final recognition is not material; for already, without reference to such recognition, Southern missionaries and agencies may be actively engaged in any state under the interpretation Article III of the Constitution.

Moving from the constitutional phase to the historical, one again finds himself in an atmosphere quite favorable to the policy which has brought tension. Baptists North and South have never hesitated to affiliate with new state bodies in areas where a similar body has already existed in co-operation with another general convention. Prior to 1894 this principle was applied in states like Missouri (where the northern society recognized a dissenting state body instead of the regularly organized body which had chosen to affiliate with the South), Texas (where both North and South intermittently conferred recognition to state bodies), and Oklahoma and Indian Territory (where sectional conventions continued until 1906). Since 1894, despite the presence of state bodies affiliated with the North, the Southern convention has recognized new bodies in Illinois, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Some have asserted that this has violated the Fortress Monroe agreement of 1894. It should be emphatically stated that American Baptists have never adopted a policy calculated to forbid Baptists from organizing churches and affiliating with the convention with whose methods and doctrines they were familiar. The Fortress Monroe agreement contains no reference to explicit geographical boundaries. The third item in this agreement was suggested by Southern Baptists on the committee at a time when the northern societies

were carrying out their stated policy of reaching all North America for Christ. This agreement provided that one general missionary body would not initiate mission work among the white population in the localities where the other was already working.⁶ The geographical extent of the "localities" was never defined. It is true that the agreement was invoked by the Northern convention in 1909 when the Southern convention considered entering New Mexico, but whether such appeal was proper or not was never determined. The joint committee simply asserted that the Fortress Monroe agreement was outmoded and no longer applied, and proceeded to formulate new principles.⁷ Whether the agreement remained valid or not, and whether its third item contemplated geographical boundaries or not, one point must not be overlooked. Even admitting continued validity, and reading into it a system of geographical boundaries, the Fortress Monroe agreement was applicable only to action initiated by the two general bodies; it could not, in the nature of the bodies represented and according to Baptist principles, bind autonomous Baptist churches organizing themselves apart from the initiative of the general bodies. At this point the difference between the early southern concept of territorial integrity and that developed since 1907 become apparent. The earlier idea maintained that missionaries should not be sent by the initiative of one general body into the other section. There was never any criticism directed against churches in the South who might desire to affiliate with the Society. As a matter of fact, the decisive answer that Secretary H. L. Morehouse of the Society made to complaints by southern leaders over the entrance of the Society into official relations with a Texas convention in 1879 was that the Texas body had invited them to come,

which was true. This, said Secretary Morehouse (and the southern leaders agreed), gave sufficient and ultimate authority for that action. The present tension has come, on the other hand, when local churches and other autonomous Baptist bodies formed by southerners in northern areas, have appealed to the Southern convention for aid and recognition. Neither northern nor southern members of the Fortress Monroe committee contemplated that local churches and other Baptist bodies would be bound by the agreement.⁸ These geographical ideas are inferential. They root in the conception of two ecclesiastical bodies requiring spatial definition. The adoption of a sectional name by northern Baptists in 1907-8 gave impetus to this conception. The development occurred somewhat like this: in 1894 it was agreed that the Convention would not initiate work in localities already occupied by the Society; since that Society became part of a "Northern" convention in 1907, the idea gradually developed that the Fortress Monroe agreement meant that the Northern convention should have sole sovereignty in the South and the Southern convention should have the South as its legitimate field of labor. The fallacy of this inference is seen in the fact that at the time of the 1894 agreement, societies from the North had laborers in practically every state in the South. Geographical lines have never been actually drawn between northern and southern Baptists.

Care must be taken to distinguish between an easy answer to the present tension and the conscientious application of Baptist principles. The churches causing tension arose by reason of the presence of Southern Baptists in new areas. The economic motive which sent them there has always been an important factor in the spread of Baptists. The

Southern convention has gradually worked out its "manifest destiny" because Southern Baptists have gone to the new frontiers to make a living. In the present era, however, these emigrants went northward as well as westward. Some travelled to industrial centers in Michigan and Indiana, and Baptist churches arose, seeking affiliation with Southern bodies. Some moved to the Pacific coast for war work, and Baptist churches, at first independent, finally secured southern recognition. These Southern Baptists met problems when they tried to align themselves with Northern Baptist churches already in the area. Doubtless even different methods of conducting public worship and the work of the churches accentuated the other factors of doctrinal disagreement. The fact that genuine doctrinal disagreement existed cannot be doubted, since some Baptist bodies who remain in fellowship with the Northern convention have protested vigorously against the liberal direction taken. In some towns these southern immigrants found no Baptist church, and learned that a comity agreement was in effect which virtually forbade the organization of a Baptist church there. It is evident, then, that the formation of new churches was for these people a matter of conscience. Whatever criticism of them may be valid, certainly every Baptist would avow the necessity that these men and women follow the dictates of their consciences. But when they did so, tension promptly arose, because of their geographical location. Under accepted Baptist principles general bodies have always considered only doctrinal agreement and desire to co-operate as determinative factors in establishing affiliation between churches and other Baptist bodies. It would constitute a major change of Baptist principles if geographical location should supercede these elements.

A southern denominational editor recently wrote an editorial entitled, "Let the Southern Baptist Convention Remain Southern."⁹ There is a serious question whether the Southern Baptist Convention can remain Baptist if it must remain southern. Geographical limitations cannot be pressed upon Baptist ecclesiology. An exact counterpart to this picture (in reverse) is found throughout the writings of H. L. Morehouse, secretary of the Home Mission Society for a generation, when he asserted the necessity of the Society entering the southern field where the Southern Baptist Convention was already serving.¹⁰ To amend the Constitution of the Southern convention so as to deny the right of churches outside the South to send messengers would be a tacit admission that they were irregular in organizing. It would bring pressure against the future organization of such Baptist churches. Such a course by the Southern convention would emphasize the supremacy of geographical position, for the only difference between these churches and those in Alabama, for example, is the latitude and longitude to which Southern Baptists have emigrated. The principle would apply equally as well to Northern Baptists in the South. It is quite possible that the increase of Northern Baptists (by union with other denominations, or otherwise), the rapid industrialization of the South, and the possibility of a population dispersal under an atomic regime could cause the emigration of Northern Baptists to the South in large numbers. Should this happen, they must have the right to follow the dictates of their consciences relative to affiliation with a general body.

Another question must be faced. What will such churches do if they are denied the right to send messengers to the convention of their choice? Under the law of ecclesiastical gravity, constantly

present in Baptist ecclesiology, they will either form new general bodies, antagonistic to both of the existing conventions, or they will align themselves with some movement which is antagonistic to the present general bodies. From the standpoint of both Northern and Southern Baptists, it would seem that recognition by one of them would be preferable.

What of the future? Serious problems are now facing Baptists relative to the question under study. It is clear that geographical boundaries as conceived at present will never cease causing tension. The same factors that brought the present tension (the immigration of Southern Baptists and doctrinal dissatisfaction) are now at work in new areas. How soon bitterness and antagonism will break out in Nevada, Utah, and Colorado, no one knows, but it will surely occur in this generation. It cannot be expected that developments in these states will materially swerve from the direction which has been followed during the past half century. Furthermore, there are new factors working that seem likely to increase tension between Northern and Southern Baptists. The proposed union between Northern Baptists and the Disciples of Christ contains elements of unusual complexity. Churches of the Disciples are situated in many areas of the South. What will happen to geographical comity agreements among Baptists if Disciples' churches throughout the South become united with the Northern Baptist Convention? Will there be a group of Baptist churches in the North who will refuse to accept the merger?¹¹ If so, could these join the Southern convention, if they so desired? Finally, the activity of the Conservative Baptist Fellowship of Northern Baptists is receiving a favorable response in both northern and southern areas. It seems doubtful that this Fellowship will ever coalesce with Southern

Baptists. Its monthly bulletin is often critical of the doctrinal views allegedly held by some individuals and institutions in the South. This Fellowship has no geographical sensitiveness, and in a real sense constitutes a move by Baptists in the North to win local churches in the North and South on the basis of a doctrinal emphasis. What this will mean in relation to geographical comity agreements cannot be foreseen, but it is certain that this Fellowship, made up of churches at present nominally in the Northern Baptist Convention, will not be hampered by any such agreements.

A new approach to the whole matter of comity relations between general bodies needs to be attempted. A few fundamental principles should not be overlooked. Whatever plan is finally adopted should eliminate geographical elements as the basis for convention affiliation and co-operation. Each church or other Baptist body must be free to determine its own affiliation, and general bodies must find some method of reducing the importance of geographical location. Gathering up the results of the agreements now existing, the new plan would doubtless recommend that neither general body initiate home mission work in the same immediate locality where the other is already engaged, save in those places where it is desired that co-operation be adopted. This plan would further advise that in the location of new Baptist churches, Christian courtesy should be observed. This would not mean one church in one town, but would discourage a situation where Baptist churches face one another across the street. It would urge the same principle that now obtains among Baptists generally, whereby a new mission or church would be organized far enough from a neighboring Baptist church to allow a particular area for each to serve. All name-calling and disparagement would be eliminated, even though

there might be difference in doctrine and practice. Baptists would be as friendly to all Baptists as they are to Methodists and Presbyterians. New Baptists entering into a city could align themselves with the church which is in accord with their beliefs. In the organization of district associations and state bodies, doubtless some plan of dual alignment could be effected (as recommended in the 1912 statement of principles of comity) or separate organizations in district and state bodies could be formed, each exercising mutual forbearance and affiliating with the general body of its choice. Uniformity in this matter is neither necessary nor desirable. Churches would be free to affiliate with any of the district or state bodies, or with none.

If a formal comity agreement along these lines is not adopted, the direction will doubtless be taken anyway. In that event, there will be continued protests by the Northern convention over the additional developments which must follow the predicates already established in various states. The Southern convention, which has always manifested a real desire for fraternity and comity with its northern brethren, will continue to be embarrassed by the rise of churches in new areas. It will finally accept the situation, consonant with its historic policy, and extend recognition, at first to the local Baptist churches and then to the resultant state conventions. The movement will then begin again in new areas. If there should come union between Northern Baptists and the Disciples of Christ, and if the Conservative Baptist Fellowship should make vast inroads into northern and southern churches, there could come a collapse of all efforts to reach agreement between Northern and Southern Baptists.

How would it affect the *status quo* if all geograph-

ical ideas were eliminated? The integrity and strength of the organizations known as the Northern and Southern Baptist Conventions doubtless would not be affected. The emigrants from the South would form churches for affiliation with the Southern convention, and no doubt their evangelistic fervor would add some to the numerical strength of the Southern convention over a period of years. It is doubtful, however, that the organizations of these churches would substantially debilitate Northern Baptists strength. Rather, it has been true that the entrance of Southern Baptists into an area has given rise to new enthusiasm and activity by the Northern churches. Probably Northern Baptist churches will predominate in the North and Southern Baptist churches in the South, but churches in either section should feel free to organize and co-operate with the general body of their choice. As a matter of fact, it is likely that this movement will have more serious effects on the Southern convention than on the Northern. For one thing, there is a great deal of opposition to this movement within the Southern convention, especially (and significantly) on the eastern seaboard. This, along with the recognized sectional consciousness of the new areas where Southern Baptists are emigrating, may in the future may cause an intensification of the problem of sectionalism in the Southern convention. Whether a unifying of such widely separated sections which have such divergent interests can be accomplished is a serious question. Another difficulty that the Southern convention must face concerns its name. One could hardly call a convention "Southern" which already affiliates even indirectly with churches in Alaska and the Pacific Northwest.

The present causes of tension could quite well be turned into vehicles of blessing to the cause of

Christ. From 1862 to 1894 the Home Mission Society recognized no geographical boundaries. It is probable that two beneficent results followed the Society's extensive work in the South. Under the pressure of a large task the Society doubtless put forth a much greater effort during that period than they would have done had they confined their activity simply to the northern areas of the land. At the same time the Southern convention undoubtedly gained an *esprit de corps* from the overlapping of interests, which certainly accounts for a part of its rapid growth and aggressive program. Such a spur to good work was originally contemplated by those viewing the separation in 1845.¹²

There is a paradoxical element in the developments that have taken place. Some of the leaders in both the North and the South who have been most desirous of finding a means whereby there might come more unity between Northern and Southern Baptist, looking toward the day when "from every quarter the tribes of our Israel shall assemble in one harmonious council," have been the very ones objecting to the infiltration of Southern Baptists into northern areas and the organization of churches and other bodies which have affiliated with the Southern convention. It is a fact of ecclesiastical history that unity can never be accomplished by a principle of geographical boundaries. Unity has come, rather, when the dividing lines have been breached and the "strangers" look into the faces of one another. In this fashion, the Separatists and the Puritans made common cause in Massachusetts Bay colony. The Particular and General Baptists of England doubtless owe their union to their close geographical proximity. The union of the Free Will Baptists with the Northern convention illustrates the same principle.¹³ It is

entirely possible that the greatest encouragement ever given to the unification of Baptists in America may be the infiltration of Baptists from each section into the other. In the long look that embraces centuries, the fellowship and mutual Christian brotherhood engendered by the breakdown of geographical dividing lines may accomplish the very unity that these brethren so desire.

The alternatives, then, are clear. There are only two principal possibilities for the solution of this tension. One solution would attempt to settle it on the basis of geographical boundaries. This would require the marking off of this continent into two separate divisions, one to be administered solely by the Northern convention and the other by the Southern convention. The problems involved in this sort of arrangement are almost insurmountable. The principal difficulty may be seen in the application of Baptist principles. This arrangement would further the centralizing development which conceives of a Baptist convention as a geographical entity, with complete spatial definition and without the possibility of any recognized dissent by what are claimed to be autonomous Baptist churches in that area. Furthermore, there are already churches and other Baptist bodies outside of the South affiliated with the Southern convention. Any settlement on geographical grounds would have to keep faith with the rights of these and any new general bodies that might arise in the future. It must be remembered that new general bodies would have just as much right to a geographical articulation as the two general bodies now existing. It cannot be doubted that the adoption of any system of geographical boundaries would give almost immediate rise to new general bodies; the new tension relative to what apportionment of terri-

tory should be made to such a body could be much more unpleasant than what is now being experienced. History has conclusively demonstrated that the idea of geographical boundaries does not prevent the rise of dissenting churches and other bodies. They will arise in spite of the boundaries and will always be grounds for new tension. Whether on the basis of distinctive doctrine, of tradition, or of desire alone, churches in either section would chafe at the introduction of such boundaries. In addition, this innovation would forbid the possibility of union such as Northern Baptists are now contemplating, it would require a major revision of the constitutions of the Southern convention and the northern Societies making up the Northern convention, and would constitute a reversal of the whole direction of Baptist history. The other possible solution is based upon the application of historic Baptist principles. At a crucial crossroads in Baptist development, this solution would turn away from centralized ecclesiaticism and rigid geographical determinism, for these are strange terms on Baptist lips. Conventions would consist of messengers from autonomous Baptist churches, not of Erastian-like spatial organizations. To change Baptist general bodies into spatial organizations would constitute a major (and unfortunate) reversal of Baptist principles. There can be no doubt that all thoughtful Baptists—North and South—would turn away from that sort of alteration. On the other hand, the elimination of geographical boundaries would go far toward eliminating tension; it would safeguard the autonomy of local Baptist bodies; it would deal fairly with any new general bodies that might arise; it would not imperil the integrity of either the Northern convention or the Southern, but might encourage a new unity;

and it would work to the forwarding of the cause of Christ in every part of the land.

It should be emphasized that the decisions of the Southern convention, like those of the northern Societies in the period from 1862 to 1894, do not rest upon petty rivalry and clashing personalities, but upon an ideology which demands (as Secretary Morehouse asserted) that the strong answer the pleas of the needy and that the gospel be preached throughout the land. This is a New Testament conviction, not based upon historic antecedents and environmental background.

An effort has been made in this last chapter to look beyond the immediate occasion that has brought tension and to glimpse the fundamental principles that will be projected through the years. Baptists should always be conscious, not only of the tired eyes of history gone by, but of the yet unfashioned eyes of Baptists who will live centuries hence. The intervening years doubtless will erase the elements now comprising points of tension, but the major principles adopted by Baptists in this generation will live to influence those who will come. The people called Baptists can ill afford to partition this nation into mutually exclusive and antagonistic sections, while at the same time claiming voluntarism as the basis of their polity. In the day of centralizing tendencies in which Baptists now carry on their work, no opportunity should be neglected which would emphasize the autonomous nature of Baptist churches and other bodies. If temporary or even permanent confusion should ensue and organizational modes should require intricate adjustment, the price is not too great to pay for maintaining New Testament democracy.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

BEFORE 1894

Source Material

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There is a great bulk of source material for this study. Most of it is in excellent physical condition. The *Annual Reports* of the American Baptist Home Mission Society from 1833 to 1895 and the Executive Board *Minutes* of the Society for the same period provided the essential base of historical data. The official publication of the Society, *The Home Mission Monthly* (1878-1895), reflects the attitudes and activities of the organization, and is an indispensable source. A rather unusual item known as *Benjamin Hill's Scrapbook* consists of a collection of newspaper clippings which have been pasted into a scrapbook, many of them doubtless being handled by Benjamin Hill, secretary of the Society from 1839 to 1862. This is considered to be a source since the Society took official cognizance of the material found therein. The Scrapbook, a complete file of the *Annual Reports*, the Executive Board *Minutes*, and bound copies of *The Home Mission Monthly* are located in the offices of the Society in New York City.

Minutes of various Baptist associational bodies were consulted. Most of these records were found in the Sterling Library of Yale University. They reveal Baptist attitudes toward slavery and abolitionism. Among them were the Minutes of the Ashford (Connecticut) Baptist Association (1836-41), Boston (Massachusetts) Baptist Association (1840-45), Buffalo (New York) Baptists Association (1840-45), Hudson River (New York) Baptist Association (1836-40,

1843), Lawrenceville (Georgia) Baptist Association (1863), New York Baptist Association (1838), Taunton (Massachusetts) Baptist Association (1843-44), Union (New York) Baptist Association (1833-43), Wayne (New York) Baptist Association (1838-42), Worcester (Massachusetts) Baptist Association (1837), and Westfield (Massachusetts) Baptist Association (1839-40). The most important of these are the records of the Boston Baptist Association and the Hudson River Baptist Association, since officials of the Baptist missionary societies located in Boston and New York were among the members.

The official *Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention* (including the annual reports of the Home Mission Board) from 1845 to 1895 were of invaluable utility in determining the interaction between the Society and this Convention.

The Minutes of the Tennessee Baptist Convention from 1874 (when the state organization was unified) to 1895, and of the Texas Baptist General Convention after 1886 (when unification was effected) aided in getting the picture in those states.

Secondary Material

Sectionalism and State Rights

General principles of sectionalism have been enunciated by Frederick J. Turner, *The Significance of Sections In American History* (New York, 1935). and *The United States 1830-1850* (New York, 1935). Application of these principles to the South may be found in Ulrich B. Phillips, *The Course of the South To Secession* (E. M. Coulter, ed., New York, 1939); Dwight L. Dumond, *The Secession Movement* (New York, 1931; Charles Francis Adams, *Studies Military and Diplomatic 1775-1865* (New York, 1911); and

Woodrow Wilson, *Division and Reunion* (New York, 1921). Charles H. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia From 1776 to 1861* (Chicago, 1910), and Ulrich B. Phillips, "Georgia and State Rights," *American Historical Association Annual Report*, 1901 (Washington, 1902), II, 3-224, illustrate sectionalism within state boundaries. Theodore Dwight, *History of the Hartford Convention* (New York, 1833) relates an example of New England sectionalism. Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America* (New York, 1891), vol. viii, gives an excellent background for the events of the Hartford Convention. The monograph of Jesse T. Carpenter, *The South As A Conscious Minority, 1781-1861* (New York, 1930) is thorough and interesting, but it seems to over-simplify a very complex area.

Slavery and Abolitionism

The best comprehensive picture of slavery may be found in the writings of Ulrich B. Phillips. Particularly helpful are *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, 1929), *The Course of the South to Secession* (E. M. Coulter, ed., New York, 1939), *The Slave Labor Problem in the Charleston District* (Boston 1907), "The Origin and Growth of the Southern Black Belts," *American Historical Review*, XI, 798-816, *Racial Problems, Adjustments and Disturbances in the Ante-Bellum South* (Richmond, 1909), "The Economic Cost of Slaveholding in the Cotton Belt," *American Historical Association Annual Report*, 1912 (Washington, 1913), p. 150f, and *The Slavery Issue in Federal Politics* (Richmond, 1909). Wililam T. Hutchinson, ed., *The Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography* (Chicago, 1937), pp. 354-73, contains a fine summary of Phillips' work and attitudes. In the general field of slavery and abolition-

ism, the two abolitionist newspapers, the *Liberator* (Boston) and the *Emancipator* (New York) are quite useful when their avowed point of view is kept in mind. Two abolitionist books, William Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery* (New York, 1852) and Thomas Price, *Slavery In America* (London, 1837) summarize the attitude and spirit of the abolitionists, while the *Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine* (New York, 1837), vol. ii, contains useful abolitionist material. Albert B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition, 1831-41*, in the American Nation Series (New York, 1906) is a scholarly and balanced discussion. Gilbert H. Barnes attempted a corrective in *The Anti-Slavery Impulse 1830-1844* (New York, 1933), but a further synthesis will probably be required. Dwight L. Dumond, *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1939) presents an able discussion of the area chosen; the material is sometimes greatly condensed and compactly written. Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, ed., *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld, and Sarah Grimke, 1822-1844* (New York, 1934) two volumes, contain much excellent material, and apparently form the basis for Barnes' *The Anti-Slavery Impulse*, mentioned heretofore. Justin H. Smith, *The Annexation of Texas* (New York, 1941) portrays the development of the political aspect of the slavery controversy as it centers around the proposed annexation. Austin Willey, *The History of the Anti-slavery Cause in State and Nation* (Portland, Maine, 1886) recounts abolitionist history primarily in Maine and New England. A succinct and balanced summary of the abolitionist movement may be found in Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (New York, 1941), vol. iv.

The several general abolitionist papers contain

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much valuable material on Baptist abolitionism, since so many Baptist leaders were active abolitionists. The best book on Baptist abolitionism is A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, *Facts For Baptist Churches* (Utica, New York, 1850). This work reproduces in full most of the documents involved in the Baptist struggle. Although its polemic was directed at the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the book preserves many rare Baptist documents.

Westward Expansion

Frederick Jackson Turner's two books already cited discuss various aspects of this movement. Louis Kimball Mathews (Rosenberry), *The Expansion of New England* (New York, 1909) is the best study in print of that theme. Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Immigrant In American History* (Arthur M. Schlesinger, ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1940), and George P. Garrison, *Westward Extension 1841-1850*, in the American Nation Series (New York, 1906), touch upon this general theme, and were consulted for background.

Reconstruction

No extended attention was given to this area, although much excellent material has been prepared by students of Professor William A. Dunning of Columbia University. Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York, 1905), and *Documentary History of Reconstruction* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1907) preserve valuable documents, some of which are now very rare. The data found in D. Appleton and Company, *The American Annual Cyclopaedia* (New York) covering the period from 1862 to 1895 served as a good summary from a non-denominational source.

Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion 1865-1900* (Boston, 1837) provides a picture of the difficulties met by all the denominations after the Civil War.

Relations Between Northern and Southern Baptists

The denominational newspapers of the period under study provide much light on representative opinion. The *Christian Watchman* (Boston) and the *Baptist Memorial and Monthly Record* (New York) are especially informative in the years from 1839 to 1845. The *Christian Index* (Washington and Penfield, Georgia) is indispensable in interpreting the Southern attitude, particularly from 1838 to 1847. The *Tennessee Baptist* (Nashville and Memphis, Tennessee) does not contain a great deal of help in this particular study, both because of its location and the direction of its interests during this period. The *Millennial Harbinger* (Bethany, Virginia) gives a good glimpse of non-Baptist Southern attitudes between 1831 and 1864. Non-denominational papers were also scanned, such as for example *Niles National Register* (Baltimore, Maryland), but only reprints from Baptist papers were noted during the period from 1840 to 1845. Appleton's *Cyclopaedia*, mentioned heretofore, provided an annual digest of information from 1862 to 1895. C. B. Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1939) throws some light upon the general area of discussion, and has a great deal of valuable information and insight.

Baptist Missions and Organization

The official centennial story of the American Baptist Home Mission Society was written by Charles L. White, as *A Century of Faith* (Philadelphia, 1932). Henry L. Morehouse, ed., *Baptist Home Missions In*

America (New York, 1883) prepared an informative resume of the Society's work before the Jubilee of 1882. Lewis G. Jordon, *Negro Baptist History U. S. A., 1750-1930* (Nashville, 1930) chronicles various aspects of negro Baptist work, but it leaves much to be desired. An excellent resume of early Baptist mission efforts is provided by Albert L. Vail, *The Morning Hour of American Baptist Missions* (Philadelphia, 1911), and Vail's *Baptists Mobilized For Missions* (Philadelphia, 1911) is the best discussion in print on basic Northern Baptist ecclesiology. Francis Wayland, *Notes On The Principles and Practices of Baptist Churches* (New York, 1857) reveals the ecclesiological conceptions of one of the North's most influential Baptist leaders from about 1840 to 1855.

A number of state denominational histories were consulted. Among these were B. F. Riley, *History of Baptist of Alabama, 1808-1894* (Birmingham, 1895); P. S. Evans, *History of Connecticut Baptist State Convention, 1823-1907* (Hartford, 1909); Richard B. Cook, *The Early and Later Delaware Baptists* (Philadelphia, 1880); J. H. Campbell, *Georgia Baptists Historical and Biographical* (Macon, 1874); John T. Christian, *History of the Baptists of Louisiana* (Shreveport, 1923); Henry S. Burrage, *History of the Baptists in Maine* (Portland, 1904); Z. T. Leavell and T. J. Bailey, *A Complete History of Mississippi Baptists, From The Earliest Times* (Jackson, Miss., 1904), vol. ii; R. S. Douglass, *History of Missouri Baptists* (Kansas City, 1934); Henry S. Burrage, *A History of the Baptists of New England* (Philadelphia, 1894); Thomas S. Griffiths, *A History of Baptists in New Jersey* (Hightstown, New Jersey, 1904); O. C. Sargent and W. W. Wakeman, *The Baptists of New Hampshire* (Manchester, New Hampshire, 1902); Charles W. Brooks, *A Century of Mis-*

sions in the Empire State, As Exhibited by the Work and Growth of The Baptist Misisonary Convention of the State of New York (Philadelphia, 1909) ; Stephen Wright, ed., *History of the Shaftsbury Baptist Association from 1781-1853* (Troy, New York, 1853) ; J. M. Carroll, *A History of Texas Baptists* (Dallas, 1923) ; Henry Crocker, *History of the Baptists In Vermont* (Bellows Falls, Vermont, 1913). These state histories are for the most part chronicles of the events churches and associations, although some delve into interpretation. They are useful for noting historical data on slavery or abolitionism and attitudes on other divisive issues. William W. Sweet, *Religion On The American Frontier—The Baptists, 1783-1830* (Chicago, 1931) was consulted for documents relating to abolition and anti-mission Baptists.

Biographical

Some of the principal characters involved in the controversies of the period are better understood through extended biographical descriptions in William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York, 1860), vol. iv. J. A. Smith, *Memoir of Rev. Nathaniel Colver, D. D.* (Boston, 1875), and J. L. Rosenberger, *Through Three Centuries—Colver and Rosenberger Lives and Times 1620-1920* (Chicago, 1922) detail the life of one of the leading Baptist abolitionists. *Some Account of the Life of Spencer Houghton Cone*, a Symposium by his sons (New York, 1856), throws light on the activities of one of the principal leaders of the North at the time of the separation. William E. Hatcher, *Life of J. B. Jeter, D. D.* (Baltimore, Maryland, 1887), and J. B. Jeter, *The Recollections of a Long Life* (Richmond, 1891) sketch the experiences of one of the principal South-

ern Baptist figures at the time of the separation in 1845. David Benedict, *Fifty Years Among The Baptists* (New York, 1860, is a useful reminiscence by a Baptist historian, although it lacks detail.

AFTER 1894

Source Material

It goes without saying that the *Proceedings* of the Southern Baptist Convention (1895 to date) and the *Annual Reports* of the Northern Baptist Convention (1907 to date) contain basic data. Vital material was also gleaned from the *Minutes* of the Illinois Baptist State Association (1907-47), the Missouri Baptist General Association (1919-47), the Baptist Convention of New Mexico (1911-1947), the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma (1907-47), the Baptist General Convention of Arizona (1928-47), the Southern California Baptist Convention (1912-47), The Southern Baptist General Convention of California (1941-47), the Kansas Baptist Convention (1917-38), and the Kansas Convention of Southern Baptist Churches (1946). Although defective in some cases in continuous runs, these Minutes may be found in the library at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth. A pamphlet entitled, *The New Mexico Baptist Situation*, by Laymen in New Mexico (Albuquerque, 1912), reveals the bitterness of anti-southern factions. On file at Southwestern Seminary is the Jenkins Committee Collection, consisting of the reports of the committee appointed by the Southern Baptist Convention to investigate the Arizona situation (1935).

Secondary Material

The *Illinois Baptist* (Carbondale, Ill., 1937-47) adds information concerning the present progress of the southern movement in the state. Clarence Hodge, *W. P. Throgmorton* (Marion, Ill, 1917) tells the story of the principal figure in the Illinois excision. The *Indian Missionary* (Atoka, Indian Territory 1884-91) reflects activity in Oklahoma and Indian Territory in the earlier period, and is useful in understanding developments after 1894. Also helpful in assizing the Oklahoma situation are the thesis of W. A. Carleton (mentioned in the bibliography for the earlier period), *J. S. Dill, Isaac Taylor Tichenor, The Home Mission Statesman* (Nashville, 1897), Robert Hamilton, *The Gospel Among the Red Men* (Nashville, 1930), Roger D. Hebard, *The A. Nunnery Movement in Oklahoma* (unpublished doctoral thesis submitted to Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, in May 1944, Amy Compere Hickerson, *The Westward Way* (Atlanta, Ga., 1945), Carl C. Rister, *Baptist Missions Among the American Indians* (Atlanta, Ga., 1944), and E. C. Routh, *The Story of Oklahoma Baptists* (Oklahoma City, 1932). The controversial aspect of the Arizona situation is seen in E. P. Alldredge, *The Arizona Situation—The Original Documents showing the Basic Principles Involved, the Official Relations Sustained, and the Problem to be Solved*, (Nashville, 1935), and F. W. Starring, *A Survey of Baptists in Arizona* (Phoenix, 1929). Contemporary information about Arizona may be found in *The Arizona Baptist Bulletin* (Phoenix, 1919-47) and *The Baptist Beacon* (Phoenix, 1937-47). *The California Southern Baptist* (Fresno, Cal., 1942-48) sketches the history of the southern movement in that state and provides excellent historical resumes

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of the founding of individual churches. J. C. Baker, *Baptist History of the Pacific Northwest* (Rochester, N. Y., 1907) traces the early history of Baptist work in Washington and Oregon. The *Pacific Coast Baptist* (Portland, Ore., 1945-48), organ of the Northwest Baptist Association, sketches contemporary events in that area. Kansas Southern Baptist *Beams* (Wichita, Kansas, 1946-48) is the periodical of the southern group in that state and provides a summary of progress being made. The Conservative Baptist Mission Fellowship supplies current information through The Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society *News and Views* (Chicago, Ill., 1944-48) and The Conservative Baptist *News Letter* (Chicago, Ill., 1945-48). The publication of the more liberal Roger Williams Fellowship of the Northern Baptist Convention, *Baptist Freedom* (Galesburg, Ill., 1944-48) presents the other side of the northern picture.

The dates given in each case are not the total run of the particular periodical being described, but refer to the period for which the library at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, has a fairly complete file.

FOOTNOTES



PREFACE

1. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1842, p. 15.

CHAPTER I

1. A. L. Vail, **The Morning Hour of Baptist Missions**, p. 64.
2. A. D. Gillette, ed., **Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association from A. D. 1707 to A. D. 1807**, pp. 25-61.
3. *Ibid*, p. 63
4. *Ibid*, p. 72. See also A. L. Vail, **Baptist Missions**, p. 67.
5. A. D. Gillette, ed., **Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association**, p. 97.
6. *Ibid*, pp. 119-124.
7. A. L. Vail, **Baptist Missions**, pp. 75-77.
8. Stephen Wright, **History of the Shaftsbury Baptist Association**, pp. 87-89. The date of the perfecting of this Associational plan for domestic missions is important, for in that very year the first Baptist missionary society in America was organized.
9. William Staughton, Baptist pastor in Philadelphia, had been a youthful member of Carey's original society. See Hans Luckey, **Johann Gerhardt Oncken und die Anfaenge des deutschen Baptismus**, pp. 55-57, for a candid description of the English missionary societies of this period.
10. A. L. Vail, **Baptist Missions**, pp. 148-49.
11. When the Warren Baptist Association of Rhode Island, the first in New England, was founded in 1767, it was viewed with suspicion. Several of the leading Baptist pastors and some of the strongest churches remained aloof for a time. For five years this was the only Association in New England, and for twelve years it was the only one north and east of Connecticut. The centralizing tendency that always accompanies war, together with the political example of the various states in seeking some type of union, apparently aided in the development of additional Associations, and caused the Associational movement to be looked upon with more favor. See W. W. Barnes, "Why The Southern Baptist Convention Was Formed," **Review and Expositor**, January, 1944, p. 6.
12. A. L. Vail, **Baptist Missions**, pp. 88-95.
13. *Ibid*, p. 137. See also W. W. Barnes, manuscript on official History of the Southern Baptist Convention, chapter ii.

14. Generalizations are rarely accurate, but it could probably be said that from Philadelphia southward the emphasis was upon the former view, while New England generally leaned toward the latter. Even the Association that gave initial impetus toward pursuing domestic missions adopted the society method. A. L. Vail, **Baptist Missions**, pp. 428-433. See W. W. Barnes, **MS on Southern Baptist Convention**, chapter i.
15. A. L. Vail, **Baptist Missions**, p. 309.
16. This is the inference from the constitution and the position of A. L. Vail. See **Baptist Missions**, p. 395. But Francis Wayland said that individuals were also included. See **Notes on the Principles and Practices of Baptist Churches**, p. 184.
17. A. L. Vail, **Baptist Missions**, p. 403.
18. A. L. Vail, **Baptist Mobilized For Missions**, p. 15.
19. Francis Wayland, **Notes**, p. 185.
20. Two of the most interesting studies in this area are Charles H. Ambler, **Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776 to 1861** and Ulrich B. Phillips, "Georgia and State Rights," **American Historical Association, Annual Report**, 1901.
21. See Frederick J. Turner, **The Significance of Sections In American History**, pp. 26 and 196.
22. **Ibid**, p. 26f.
23. A. L. Burt, **The United States, Great Britain and British North America From the Revolution to the Peace after the War of 1812**, p. 105.
24. **Ibid**, p. 225f.
25. F. J. Turner, **The United States 1830-1850: The Nation And Its Sections**, p. 395.
26. As a matter fact, there is today a dual line of judicial precedent reflecting these interpretations. See E. S. Corwin, **The Twilight of the Supreme Court**.
27. Charles Francis Adams, **Studies Military and Diplomatic 1775-1865**, p. 298.
28. See Theodore Dwight, **History of the Hartford Convention; with a Review of the Policy of the United States, which led to the War of 1812**. Also see Henry Adams, **History of the United States of America**, VIII, pp. 263-310.
29. William Jackson, ed., **Amercian Annual Register For 1832-33**, p. 12. See also U. B. Phillips, **Georgia and State Rights**, chapters ii and iii.
30. William Jackson, ed., **Annual Register for 1832-33**, p. 96.
31. Justin H. Smith, **The Annexation of Texas**, pp. 67 and 206f.
32. F. J. Turner, **The United States 1830-1850**, p. 416.
33. Woodrow Wilson, **Division and Reunion**, p. 10.
34. F. J. Turner, **The Significance of Sections**, p. 26.
35. Probably the best discussion of the whole question is to be found in the works of Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, especially **Life and Labor in the Old South**, **The Course of the South to Secession**, **The Slave Labor Problem**

in the Charleston District, *The Origin and Growth of the Southern Black Belts, and Racial Problems, Adjustments and Disturbances in the Ante-Bellum South.*

36. A. B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, p. 161f.
37. U. B. Phillips, *The Slavery Issue in Federal Politics*, p. 390f.
38. George P. Garrison, *Westward Extension 1841-1850*, p. 11. See also U. B. Phillips, *The Slavery Issue in Federal Politics*, p. 387f, and the fine summary in William T. Hutchinson, ed., *The Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography*, p. 363.
39. A. B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, p. 161f.
40. Dates for the period vary in the writings of different men. Phillips gave 1815 as the beginning; Hart dates it from about 1830.
41. A. B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, p. 161.
42. *Ibid*, p. 189f.
43. Gilbert H. Barnes, *The Anti-Slavery Impulse 1830-1844*, chapter iv.
44. Barnes interpreted this movement as an effort to rid abolitionism of Garrison's name. There was, however, a considerable difference between the attitudes and aims of Garrison's movement and the purported aims of the new organization.
45. Gilbert H. Barnes, *The Anti-Slavery Impulse*, chapter ix.
46. Garrison was more consistent in this position than were his opponents. In the following year he refused to sit in a world convention of abolitionists in London because the women delegates sent by his Society were not allowed to be enrolled. It is rather ironical that the more moderate abolitionists were found in the position of attempting to gain for the colored race the very thing that was in principle being refused to women of the white race. See the *Emancipator*, New York, May 23, 1839, in which it may be noted that the fight against seating the women was led by a Baptist, Nathaniel Colver of Boston.
47. Garrison began as an orthodox Christian, but became embittered, doubtless because of the general backwardness of the churches about supporting his movement. He went off at a tangent from orthodoxy, ending up in a sort of spiritualism. See A. B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, p. 201.
48. *Ibid*, p. 201.
49. However, in a letter from Finney to Weld on July 21, 1836, the former bluntly bewailed the course the abolitionists were taking and said that civil war would be the result. Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Du-mond, ed., *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld and Sarah Grimke, 1822-1844*, I, 318-19.

See also Kenneth S. Latourette, **A History of the Expansion of Christianity**, IV, 350.

50. A. B. Hart, **Abolition and Slavery**, p. 204.
51. Gilbert H. Barnes, **The Anti-Slavery Impulse**, p. 83.
52. **Ibid.**, p. 163.
53. Justin H. Smith, **The Annexation of Texas**, p. 67f.
54. Marcus Lee Hansen, **The Immigrant in American History**, p. 54.
55. **Annual Report of the American Baptist Home Mission Society For 1848**, p. 14. Hereafter this citation will appear as Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**.
56. In the 1830's, the population of North and South Carolina remained stationery, while Virginia showed an increase of 7% in whites and 3.5% in slaves. Alabama in the same period showed an increase of 76% in whites and 115% in slaves, and Mississippi showed an increase of 154% in whites and 197% in slaves. F. J. Turner, **The United States 1830-1850**, p. 214.
57. **Ibid.**, p. 215.
58. See the excellent maps in Lois Kimball Mathews (Rosenberry), **The Expansion of New England**.
59. Justin H. Smith, **The Annexation of Texas**, p. 67f.
60. A. B. Hart, **Slavery and Abolition**, p. 201.
61. F. J. Turner, **The United States 1830-1850**, p. 395.

CHAPTER II

1. Henry L. Morehouse, ed., **Baptist Home Missions In North America**, pp. 302-312. See also **Executive Board Minutes**, American Baptist Home Mission Society, November 26, 1844, in which, at the death of Dr. Going, a resolution named him as in truth the founder of the Society. Hereafter this citation will be shown as Home Mission Society, **Board Minutes**.
2. The text of the call may be found in the **Baptist Repository**, New York, March 23, 1832. This clipping was found in what is called Dr. Benjamin Hill's Scrapbook, which is on file at the office of the Baptist Home Mission Society in New York. Dr. Hill was Secretary of the Society from 1839 to 1862. The inclusion of an item like this in the Scrapbook adds considerable weight to its value, since it indicates that it came to the official attention of the Society. Appointments, official reports, and other published material are found in this book. Sometimes the clippings do not include the name of the paper from which they were taken, and the form of the Scrapbook renders pagination hazardous. Whenever such clippings are referred to, the citation **Benjamin Hill's Scrapbook** will be shown.
3. **Baptist Repository**, New York, March 23, 1832. Found in **Benjamin Hill's Scrapbook**.
4. Perhaps it is this decision to which Francis Wayland referred in 1858 in condemning the idea of a general

denominational body. It certainly illustrates his point—that the decision of New England leadership to reject the centralized denominational idea in favor of the society method was a deliberate one “after a protracted debate” and that the “danger” of centralization was recognized. Francis Wayland, *Notes*, p. 185. Compare the rejected plan with plan adopted by Southern Baptists in 1845.

5. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report, 1833**, p. 5.
6. A special committee invited all groups to associate with the Society “at least so far as to send in an annual report of their missionary operations . . . in order that all efforts made in this cause may be reported annually in the minutes of the Home Mission Society.” Home Mission Society, **Annual Report, 1835**, p. 9.
7. **Ibid**, 1842, p. 1 of the appendix.
8. **Ibid**, 1842, p. 1f of the appendix.
9. Since the relationship was completely voluntary, an auxiliary might choose to co-operate one year and, owing to failure to report or lack of interest, might not maintain the relationship during the following year. In 1843, for example, Baptists in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama were shown as not being auxiliary to the Society, although the report for 1840 shows North Carolina as co-operating and the report for 1841 shows South Carolina and Georgia similarly aligned.
10. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report, 1840**, p. 27.
11. **Ibid**, p. 27.
12. Henry L. Morehouse, ed., **Baptist Home Missions**, p. 359.
13. **Ibid**, p. 360.
14. In this chart the second column shows the number of Southern states which had missionaries during each year; the third column shows the total number of missionaries employed in the South each year; the fourth column shows the total number of weeks of labor by all missionaries during each year. The question of what constituted the South from 1832 to 1845 is a troublesome one. Writers of that era did not agree, nor do writers today agree. In 1841 the editor of the **Baptist Banner**, Louisville, Kentucky, included the states of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Florida, Iowa, and the District of Columbia. See June 24, 1841 issue. C. B. Goodykoontz eliminates Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri from the usual list of Southern states as being western rather than southern, following his teacher, Frederick J. Turner, and he includes Delaware as a part of the South. **Home Missions On The American Frontier**, p. 180. Jesse T. Carpenter gives a progressive survey. The South

- is considered today as being those states below the Mason-Dixon line. But, he continues, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana were peculiarly the South; Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas, less so; while Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri were least Southern of all the group. **The South As a Conscious Minority.** p. 7. For this type of study, the general approach is valid which recognizes as the South those states which subsequently joined the Southern Baptist Convention or were closely aligned with it for a long period. The charts will indicate the states involved.
15. It had been hoped that this supplementary chart might show the scope of the work for each year. When such extensive tables were prepared, however, they were found to be so bulky as to lose their utility.
 16. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1834, pp. 31-34.
 17. W. W. Barnes, "Why the Southern Baptist Convention Was Formed," **Review and Expositor**, January, 1944, pp. 11-17.
 18. See William W. Sweet, **Religion On The American Frontier—The Baptists 1783-1830**, pp. 58-76.
 19. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1833, p. 18.
 20. For this attitude in Kentucky, see *ibid*, 1833, p. 32; in Tennessee, see *ibid*, 1836, p. 24.
 21. *Ibid*, 1843, pp. 64 and 66.
 22. **Christian Watchman**, June 19, 1840, quoting from the **Baptist Banner**, Louisville, Kentucky. This agitation was widespread from 1835 until the separation in 1845. In 1839 R. T. Daniel formed a Southern Baptist Home Mission Society, but after three years it died with him. For this and similar agitation at this point, see W. W. Barnes, "Why the Southern Baptist Convention Was Formed," **Review and Expositor**, January, 1944, pp. 11-17.
 23. **Christian Index**, September 10, 1840.
 24. **Baptist Banner**, June 24, 1841. In **Benjamin Hill's Scrapbook**.
 25. *Ibid*. In **Benjamin Hill's Scrapbook**.
 26. This decade represents the only period for which summary figures could be secured. It covers the time during which the chief complaints were made.
 27. This was asserted by the **Religious Herald** of Virginia and quoted approvingly by the **Christian Index** of Georgia, July 19, 1844. See also **Christian Index**, March 7 and April 11, 1845, which asks "whether the wants of the South and Southwest had received the same attention that those of the Northwest had."
 28. In 1837 a correspondent of the **Tennessee Baptist** called for the formation of a Southern Baptist Home Mission Society. He complained that in the states of Kentucky, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Arkansas, the Home Mission Society

- had only one missionary to every 428,581 souls; while in Michigan the Society supported one missionary for every 4,000 souls. Quoted in **Baptist Banner**, Louisville, September 12, 1837.
29. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1837, p. 5f of the appendix.
 30. **Ibid**, 1842, p. 13.
 31. **Ibid**, 1839, p. 29.
 32. **Ibid**, 1839, pp. 11-12
 33. **Ibid**, 1836, p. 24.
 34. **Ibid**, 1841, p. 53f.
 35. Home Mission Society, **Board Minutes**, September 15, 1834.
 36. **Ibid**, July 20, 1833. Dr. Johnson never served in this capacity.
 37. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1835, p. 19ff.
 38. C. B. Goodykoontz, **Home Missions**, p. 180.
 39. **Ibid**, p. 180.
 40. The Tennessee **Baptist** used this as an argument for the establishment of a new southern society. Quoted in **Baptist Banner**, Louisville, September 12, 1837. R. B. C. Howell of Tennessee wrote that the Society in New York were "personally acquainted to no great extent with any ministers besides those residing in the north, (and they) . . . seldom engaged the services of southern men . . ." **Baptist Banner**, March 21, 1839. **Benjamin Hill's Scrapbook** contained a clipping from the **Baptist Banner** of June 24, 1841, which asserted that "because the Board is located in the North, the great majority of applicants to them for appointments to missionary labor are northern men . . ."
 41. Lois K. Mathews (Rosenberry) has made an excellent study of New England's expansion westward. She pointed out that in 1850, Ohio had 23,000 residents from Connecticut, 19,000 from Massachusetts, 14,000 from Vermont, 84,000 from New York, and from Rhode Island, Maine, and New Hampshire combined, about 9,000. An influx of New England immigration burst into Indiana after 1830, with some entire counties known as New England counties; viz, La Grange County, Noble Count, and LaPorte County. Similarly, the fourteen northern counties of Illinois became a New England stronghold, and it "seemed as if all New England was coming to Michigan" by 1837. Wisconsin, too, from 1836 on, had a large settlement from New England. This resume from Lois K. Mathews (Rosenberry), **The Expansion of New England**, pp. 193, 199, 207-14, and 226.

CHAPTER III

1. Gilbert H. Barnes, **The Anti-Slavery Impulse**, p. 18. The immediatism doctrine of many American leaders

- may be traced to English antecedents.
2. The letter is found in various places. A complete text appears in A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts For Baptist Churches**, pp. 17-20. This citation will appear hereafter as A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**.
 3. Text in A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, pp. 20-23.
 4. On February 24, 1834, Grosvenor had addressed the anti-slavery society of Salem with such effect that the message was printed in a 48-page tract for abolitionists. For such an early period in the movement, the language used is quite vigorous. For reference to this tract, see *ibid*, p. 23f.
 5. *Ibid*, pp. 26-30.
 6. Thomas Price, **Slavery In America**, pp. 19-20.
 7. *Ibid*, p. 495.
 8. **Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine**, New York, II, p. 101. Welch soon lost this sympathetic feeling for the South.
 9. For copies of many of these resolutions, whose uniform language at times suggests concert of action, see Thomas Price, **Slavery In America**, pp. 19-23, and A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, pp. 35-37.
 10. A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, p. 40.
 11. *Ibid*, p. 41.
 12. *Ibid*, p. 41-42.
 13. J. A. Smith, **Memoir of Rev. Nathaniel Colver, D. D.**, pp. 175-77.
 14. G. H. Barnes, **The Anti-Slavery Impulse**, pp. 91 and 242.
 15. *Ibid*, p. 242.
 16. Charles W. Brooks, **A Century of Missions in the Empire State**, p. 116.
 17. In 1838 and 1839, for example, it met in the Baptist church at Augusta. See Austin Willey, **The History of the Anti-Slavery Cause in State and Nation**, pp. 80, 90, and 109f. Also see Henry S. Burrage, **Baptists In New England**, p. 303ff.
 18. For example, the resolution of 1835 by the Penobscot Association, and one in the same year by the Bowdoinham Association. Henry S. Burrage, **Baptists In New England**, p. 307-8.
 19. The Hancock Baptist Association in 1837 resolved "to have no fellowship or communion with those who, under the character of Christians, continue to hold their fellowmen in bondage," and the Washington Association in the same year asserted non-fellowship with those who, after being enlightened on the issue, still continued the "abominations" and "defile the church of God." Austin Willey, **History**, p. 109f.
 20. Henry S. Burrage, **Baptists In New England**, p. 311f.
 21. Austin Willey, **History**, p. 155f. See also G. H. Barnes, **The Anti-Slavery Impulse**, p. 242, in which the strength of the movement in Maine is suggested.
 22. Henry S. Burrage, **Baptists In New England**, p. 208. See also William Hurlin, O. C. Sargent, and W. W.

- Wakeman, *The Baptists of New Hampshire*, p. 34.
23. A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, *Facts*, p. 35.
 24. See *Baptist Memorial and Monthly Chronicle*, August, 1844, p. 254.
 25. F. J. Turner, *The United States 1830-1850*, p. 76, and G. H. Barnes, *The Anti-Slavery Impulse*, p. 242.
 26. Letter from Elizur Wright to T. D. Weld, Sept. 22 1836. G. H. Barnes and D. L. Dumond, ed., *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld*, et al, I, p. 337. Sabin was appointed in 1837 to a committee on slavery by the state Baptist convention. With him was O. S. Murray, who later became secretary of the national Baptist anti-slavery convention. For a further description of Sabin and his work, see Henry Crocker, *History of the Baptists in Vermont*, pp. 461-63.
 27. Stephen Wright, ed., *Shaftsbury Baptist Association*, p. 217.
 28. Henry Crocker, *Baptist in Vermont*, p. 464.
 29. *Ibid*, p. 465.
 30. See G. H. Barnes, *The Anti-Slavery Impulse*, chap. ix.
 31. *Emancipator and Free American*, June 2, 1842.
 32. Worcester Baptist Association, *Minutes*, 1837.
 33. See A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, *Facts*, p. 50.
 34. Nathaniel Colver had been a prominent abolitionist for years. See J. A. Smith, *Memoir*, pp. 154-202, and Jesse L. Rosenberger, *Through Three Centuries*, p. 47. In March, 1836, he was appointed agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society. G. H. Barnes and D. L. Dumond, eds., *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld*, et al, I, 280. He made long tours in behalf of abolitionism. *Ibid*, II, 622. For Colver's leadership in the anti-Garrison movement see *Emancipator*, May 23, 1839.
 35. *Emancipator*, October 3, 1839.
 36. G. H. Barnes and D. L. Dumond, eds., *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld*, et al, I, 397.
 37. P. S. Evans, *History of Connecticut Baptist State Convention*, 1823-1907, pp. 37 and 46-47.
 38. In May, 1836, the Ashford Baptist Association passed a vigorous resolution against slavery, and this attitude continues through succeeding Minutes. The Minutes of the Fairfield County Baptist Association from its organization in 1838 show no reference to slavery until 1844.
 39. See Thomas S. Griffiths, *A History of Baptists in New Jersey passim*.
 40. G. H. Barnes and D. L. Dumond, ed., *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld*, et al, I, 256 (footnote).
 41. *Ibid*, I, 236
 42. *Ibid*, I, 288f.
 43. *Ibid*, I, 289.
 44. *Ibid*, I, 308-9.
 45. This was particularly true of his ministry at Perry, Genesee County, New York.

46. G. H. Barnes, **The Anti-Slavery Impulse**, p. 163.
47. The Wayne Baptist Association of New York, for example, passed an identical resolution each year from 1839 to 1842 favoring abolition of slavery.
48. A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, p. 64.
49. See circular of the consultative meeting of anti-slavery Baptists, **Emancipator**, June 13, 1839.
50. **Emancipator**, May 16, 1839.
51. **Emancipator**, June 13, 1839.
52. **Ibid**, July 25, 1839.
53. **Liberator**, December 13, 1839.
54. **Emancipator**, March 19, 1840.
55. **Christian Watchman**, June 19, 1840.
56. The meeting took place during the annual anniversaries of the various benevolent Boards of the Baptists. Coincidentally, on the first day of the meeting the English Baptist Union had also met and passed anti-slavery resolutions relative to American Baptists who "by their supineness and silence, are lending it (slavery) the aid of a most criminal neutrality." **Christman Watchman**, August 28, 1840.
57. The biographer of Nathaniel Colver called him "the guiding spirit of this Convention." J. A. Smith, **Memoir**, p. 177.
58. **Christian Watchman**, May 22, 1840.
59. **Ibid**, June 19, 1840. This address was allegedly written by Samuel Aaron of New Jersey, and was widely circulated throughout the slaveholding states through a special edition of the **Christian Reflector**. **Emancipator**, June 12, 1840.
60. See **Christian Watchman**, September 18, 1840, for affirmation of this neutrality.
61. **Ibid**, June 19, 1840.
62. **Ibid**, June 19, 1840.
63. **Ibid**, June 26, 1840.
64. **Ibid**, July 3, 1840.
65. **Ibid**, July 17, 1840.
66. **Ibid**, September 18, 1840.
67. Austin Willey, **History**, p. 136.
68. Some churches were not willing, however, to dis-fellowship slaveholders. Pastor E. R. Warren, First Baptist Church, Augusta, led in a split of that church on December 18, 1843, because fourteen of the twenty-seven members present refused to vote for such a resolution. Henry S. Burrage, **Baptists In New England**, p. 313f.
69. A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, p. 50.
70. **Ibid**, pp. 50-51.
71. In order to clarify organizational references, it may be said that the General Convention (a shortened form of the long constitutional name of the foreign mission society organized by Baptists in 1814) met every three years and was composed of delegates who had become members by contributing \$100. Auxiliaries who had contributed this amount could name

delegates to the amount of their gift. In the interim between the triennial meetings, all business of the Convention was transacted by a Baptist Board of Foreign Missions which, by 1844, consisted of sixty members. This Board met annually. For all transactions between the annual meetings of the entire Board, an Acting Board was elected by the Board, consisting of fifteen of its own number, who had authority to carry on all business. Thus, every year saw the meeting of the regular Board of Foreign Missions; every three years, the meeting of the General Convention. Between meetings of the Board and the Convention, the Acting Board made all the decisions. Annually the entire Board reviewed the decisions of the Acting Board.

72. Home Secretary Lucius Bolles was ill, but he had read the circular and concurred in its views.
73. **Christian Watchman**, November 25, 1840.
74. Quoted from **Baptist Banner and Western Pioneer**, Louisville, Kentucky, November 26, 1840, in manuscript of W. W. Barnes, *History of the Southern Baptist Convention*, chap. ii.
75. A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, p. 57.
76. Elder John Peck of New York was in Georgia and Alabama at this time and wrote the New York **Baptist Register** that there was much discontent. See A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, p. 58.
77. Benedict is hazy on some details. His recollections were not written until 1859. Apparently this visit by Lincoln and himself with B. M. Sanders is the one made in 1841.
78. David Benedict, **Fifty Years Among The Baptists**, pp. 219-221.
79. **Christian Watchman**, April 2, 1841. As a matter of fact, some Northern Baptist Associations soon adopted this practice. The editor of the **Baptist Memorial and Monthly Record** complained that some of the principal benevolent societies could not present their needs at certain Associational meetings because of efforts to eliminate debates and resolutions on subjects unwelcome to many of the brethren. See issue for October, 1843.
80. **Christian Watchman**, April 16, 1841.
81. A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, p. 58.
82. **Christian Index**, September 3, 1841.
83. **Ibid**, September 3, 1841.
84. See A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, pp. 77-81.
85. **Christian Watchman**, July 2, 1841.
86. Johnson later repeated this fact, saying that his instructions from the South Carolina Baptist Convention were completely obeyed when he discovered that the body of Northern Baptists were not abolitionists. **Christian Index**, September 3, 1841.
87. **Christian Watchman**, May 7, 1841.

88. A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, p. 50.
89. **Christian Watchman**, May 7, 1841.
90. **Christian Index**, September 3, 1841.
91. **Emancipator**, May 13, 1841.
92. **Ibid**, May 13, 1841.
93. **Ibid**, August 19, 1841.
94. It will be remembered that on January 7, 1837, he had written to the English Baptists in behalf of the Board of Foreign Missions, declining to meddle in any way with the question of slavery. On January 11, 1839, he had again addressed this group; this time, however, he placed himself in the abolitionist camp. Yet in 1840 he concurred with the neutrality resolution of the Board, of which he was secretary.
95. Nathaniel Colver controverted this point. He said that Stow had been a member of the Executive Committee of the American Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention, and had voted to print and circulate 3,000 copies of this Address in the South. A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, p. 83.
96. **Ibid**, p. 83.
97. **Ibid**, p. 83.
98. **Emancipator and Free American**, December 29, 1842.
99. **Ibid**, December 29, 1842.
100. **Ibid**, December 29, 1842.
101. **Christman Watchman**, May 14, 1841. So also felt the editors of the **Biblical Recorder** of North Carolina and the **Christian Index** of Georgia. See A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, p. 85f.
102. **Christian Watchman**, October 27, 1841.
103. **Christian Watchman**, November 5, 1841.
104. This was a nickname given to the General Convention since it met once every three years.
105. **Christian Watchman**, December 3, 1841.
106. Stephen Wright, **Shaftsbury Baptist Association**, p. 222.
107. **Christman Watchman**, October 22, 1841.
108. The **Emancipator** quoted the **Christian Secretary**, one of the "moderate" Northern papers, to the effect that "a large majority, perhaps we may say the whole body" of Northern Baptists were utterly opposed to slavery, although many had not joined any abolitionist societies. The same source quoted the **New York Baptist Register** as saying that "we are all anti-slavery at the North, though not members of anti-slavery societies We are all for emancipation, every soul of us." **Emancipator**, December 29, 1842.
109. **Ibid**, August 19, 1841.
110. **Ibid**, May 12, 1842.
111. **Ibid**, June 30, 1842.
112. **Ibid**, June 2, 1842.
113. **Ibid**, May 25, 1843.
114. **Ibid**, May 25, 1843.
115. This name was later changed to the American Baptist Free Mission Society. See A. T. Foss and E. Mathews,

Facts, p. 326. Notice the parallel between this movement and the formation of the American Missionary Association among the Congregationalists. See Kenneth S. Latourette, **A History of The Expansion of Christianity**, IV, 358ff.

116. **Emancipator**, May 25, 1843. This statement expressly called the name of Nathaniel Colver as one of the abolitionists who preferred to remain with the regular societies in the hope of causing separation of the slaveholders. Colver never identified himself with this abolitionist mission organization, feeling that he could accomplish more within the regular Boards. See J. A. Smith, **Memoir of Nathaniel Colver**, p. 199.
117. **Emancipator**, June 15, 1843.
118. **Ibid**, June 12, 1844.
119. **Baptist Memorial and Monthly Chronicle**, April, 1844.
120. **Ibid**, June, 1844.
121. J. B. Jeter, **The Recollections of a Long Life**, p. 230.
122. **Baptist Memorial and Monthly Chronicle**, June, 1844.
123. The Home Mission Society, wrote J. B. Jeter, "differing little from a mass meeting, was from its very origin, the battle-field of the abolitionists and slaveholders." **Recollections**, p. 230f.
124. See Charles W. Brooks, **A Century of Missions**, p. 135.
125. Although it is beyond the scope of this study to trace Baptist abolitionism beyond 1845, when separation between North and South took place, it may be noted that this group entered vigorously into the political phase of the movement. See Austin Willey, **History**, pp. 178, 188, and 229.
126. Welch had become an avowed abolitionist.

CHAPTER IV

1. A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, p. 23.
2. As early as 1841, then, this Society took its official position, and the issues were clearly stated.
3. **New York Baptist Advocate**, February 20, 1841. In **Benjamin Hill's Scrapbook**.
4. **Christian Reflector**, March 19, 1841, quoted in A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, p. 71f.
5. See **Christian Watchman**, June 19, 1840.
6. Hardly an issue of the paper appeared in 1840 that did not have some article on slavery or abolitionism.
7. **Emancipator**, May 25, 1843. See also **Christian Index**, March 28, 1845, and J. A. Smith, **Memoir of Nathaniel Colver**, p. 200.
8. Most of the following resume is found in **Benjamin Hill's Scrapbook**. When the material is not contained there, an additional note will indicate its specific source.
9. **Christian Index**, March 15, 1844.
10. **Ibid**, March 15, 1844.

11. **Ibid**, March 29, 1844.
12. **Ibid**, April 5, 1844.
13. **Ibid**, April 12, 1844.
14. Perhaps this impression was given by John Dowling, a member of the Board. See **Christian Reflector**, May 9, 1844, in **Benjamin Hill's Scrapbook**.
15. See **Christian Index**, March 15, 1844. The following material was found in several newspapers. Since the report by the **Christian Reflector** on May 2 and 9 was found in **Benjamin Hill's Scrapbook**, that account will be followed.
16. **Emancipator**, May 25, 1843.
17. Fuller was a slave owner; Jeter never owned slaves.
18. **Christian Reflector**, May 9, 1844. In **Benjamin Hill's Scrapbook**.
19. **Christian Index**, June 14, 1844.
20. **Ibid**, October 25 and November 1, 1844.
21. **Ibid**, November 1, 1844. See also Home Mission Society, **Board Minutes**, October 7, 1844.
22. Home Mission Society, **Board Minutes**, September 11, September 26, October 3, and October 7, 1844.
23. The South was kept informed on the progress of the matter. See the **Christian Index**, October 4 and October 25, 1844, which tell of supposedly secret discussions in the Society. The information came from S. H. Cone. See Symposium by his sons, **Some Account of The Life of Spencer Houghton Cone, A Baptist Preacher In America**, pp. 276-78.
24. **Ibid**, pp. 278-79.
25. Home Mission Society, **Board Minutes**, October 7, 1844.
26. **Christian Index**, October 25, 1844.
27. **Ibid**, November 1, 1844.
28. A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, pp. 102-4.
29. The leaders of the Alabama Baptist Convention carefully watched the Home Mission Society. In 1842, for example, because of the slavery agitation they withheld \$500.00 that had been given for home mission work. The Society needs these funds, and the Executive Board wrote to W. C. Crane, Montgomery, Alabama, asking him to help secure the money. See Home Mission Society, **Board Minutes**, January 11, 1842.
30. **Christian Index**, December 6, 1844.
31. **Ibid**, March 14, 1845. The abolitionists asserted that the Acting Board withheld publication of this reply in an effort to mislead their constituents. See A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, p. 106, footnote.
32. W. E. Hatcher, **Life of J. B. Jeter D. D.**, pp. 218-19.
33. **Christian Index**, March 21, 1845.
34. **Ibid**, December 3, 1844.
35. **Baptist Memorial and Monthly Chronicle**, May, 1845.
36. **Christian Index**, March 20 and 28, 1845.
37. This resume taken from A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, pp. 114-24.

38. **Ibid**, pp. 132-134.
39. **Ibid**, p. 134.
40. **Ibid**, p. 135.
41. John M. Peck wrote on September 23, 1847 to Home Secretary R. E. Pattison of the Acting Board that it was well known "that at no period from December, 1844, to . . . November, 1845, could a majority of the General Board, North of the Potomac, be had to approve of the doings of the Acting Board. It was tried by Dr. Welch (B. T. Welch of Albany) repeatedly in my presence, and I know the feelings and views of a large majority North of the Potomac and Ohio." Peck said that the General Board would not recall the act under the circumstances then existing. See Reply To "Brief Historical Sketch of the Western Baptist Theological Institute," In Covington, Ky. By The Board of Trustees, p. 28.
42. Home Mission Society, **Board Minutes**, February 4, 1845.
43. **Ibid**, October 30, 1845.
44. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1845, p. 6f.
45. J. B. Taylor of Virginia was a member of the committee on dissolution, but took no part in the deliberations or report.
46. See J. B. Jeter, **Recollections**, p. 232, and Symposium, **Life of S. H. Cone**, pp. 278-79.

CHAPTER V

1. Home Mission Society, **Board Minutes**, February 4, 1845.
2. This was the way J. B. Jeter understood it, even after labored explanations had been made. See A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, p. 139.
3. **Ibid**, p. 134.
4. This type of organization had the denominational emphasis of the Associational method which had been rejected by the Northern leaders after 1820. See chap. i. The Landmark movement among Southern Baptists after 1860 gave further denominational direction to the new convention. See chap. x.
5. **Emancipator**, June 4, 1845, signed by "S.Y.N."
6. See **ibid**, May 21, 1845.
7. A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, p. 179.
8. **Ibid**, p. 178.
9. William Goodell, **Slavery and Anti-Slavery**, p. 506.
10. By 1852, its receipts amounted to about \$8,000, with which seven foreign and twenty-one home missionaries were supported. J. L. Burrows, ed., **The American Baptist Register**, 1852, p. 455.
11. William Goodell, **Slavery and Anti-Slavery**, p. 506.
12. A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, p. 311f.
13. **Emancipator**, June 24, 1846.
14. Home Mission Society, **Board Minutes**, May 9, 1845.

15. **Ibid**, October 8, 1845.
16. **Ibid**, October 23 and October 30, 1845.
17. **Ibid**, December 31, 1845.
18. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1846, p. 6.
19. J. A. Smith, **Memors of Nathaniel Colver**, p. 198.
20. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1849, p. 2f.
21. A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, p. 311f.
22. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1862, p. 15.
23. **Ibid**, 1863, pp. 30-34.
24. **Ibid**, 1863, pp. 35-38.
25. Senator Harris was president of the Society in 1862. See H. L. Morehouse, ed., **Baptist Home Missions**, p. 547.
26. Appleton's **Cyclopaedia**, 1863, p. 161f.
27. From the order of the War Department to its commanders in the South, dated January 14, 1864; Home Mission Society, **Annal Report**, 1864, p. 14f.
28. **Ibid**, 1864, p. 14f.
29. **Ibid**, 1864, p. 45.
30. **Ibid**, 1864, p. 16.
31. **Ibid**, 1864, p. 16f.
32. **Ibid**, 1864, p. 31f.
33. **Ibid**, 1864, p. 20.
34. **Ibid**, 1864, p. 30.
35. Appleton's **Cyclopaedia**, 1865, p. 105f. The Methodists and Presbyterians seem to have been more explicit in this demand. See walter L. Fleming, **Civil War and Reconstruction In Alabama**, p. 227ff.
36. See W. W. Barnes, **History of the Southern Baptist Convention** (manuscript), chap. iv.
37. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1861, pp. 62-64.

CHAPTER VI

1. **Home Mission Monthly**, New York, VI, 225f.
2. **Ibid**, I, 116.
3. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1862, p. 21.
4. **Ibid**, 1862, p. 50.
5. **Home Mission Monthly**, I, 116.
6. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1863, p. 16.
7. **Ibid**, 1864, p. 14.
8. **Home Mission Monthly**, I, 132f.
9. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1864, p. 20f.
10. **Ibid**, 1863, pp. 30-34. His closing sentence reads, "Prepare, ye shepherds of Christ's flocks in the North, and the sheep and lambs of these flocks, for such a true Macedonian bleating for spiritual food as shall make your ears tingle, your hearts bleed, and your hands give." He viewed the entire South, both white and colored, as a mission field. The same attitude was held by others. See pp. 35-38 in this annual report for other examples.
11. **Ibid**, 1864, p. 17.

12. **Ibid**, 1864, pp. 20-1. For a concise summary of efforts for the freedmen in the South by other denominations, see Kenneth S. Latourette, **A History of The Expansion of Christianity**, IV, 357-64.
13. Probably the best resume of Southern efforts among the colored prior to the war may be found in a pamphlet by I. T. Tichenor, who was later to become one of the foremost statesmen of the Southern Baptist Convention. When the Southern Convention was organized in 1845, there were more colored Baptists to the population than white Baptists. Tichenor illustrated Southern activity in behalf of the negro from his own experience. He had preached at Montgomery, Alabama, just before the war. From his church alone half a dozen missionaries of the colored race had gone to their own people after a period of training. By 1865, the First Baptist Church of Montgomery had about nine hundred members, of whom three hundred were white and six hundred were black. The colored section of the church had its own pastor, deacons, church conferences, etc., and when separation between the whites and blacks was effected, there was the kindest of feelings. Tichenor said that in his fifteen years pastorate at Montgomery, he had baptized over five hundred colored people into the fellowship of the church. See Walter L. Fleming, **Documentary History of Reconstruction**, pp. 247-49. J. H. DeVotie of the Georgia Baptist Convention wrote Secretary S. S. Cutting of the Society on July 15, 1877, and mentioned that for thirty-five years he had given about one-third of his preaching to colored people, without compensation, and had baptized about eight hundred of them. See W. W. Barnes *History of the Southern Baptists Convention* (manuscript), chap. v.
14. **Home Mission Monthly**, I, 116.
15. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1864, p. 17.
16. **Ibid**, 1864, p. 30.
16. **Ibid**, 1865, pp. 26-27.
18. **Ibid**, 1865, p. 45.
19. Appleton's **Cyclopaedia**, 1865, p. 105f.
20. **Ibid**, 1865, p. 106. A minority of Missouri Baptists organized a new convention for a brief time and co-operated with the Society.
21. Appleton's **Cyclopaedia**, 1865, p. 105f. This move seems to have been taken by the Society in good faith, but the actual administration of the task was fraught with unpleasant elements. The Coliseum Place Baptist Church of New Orleans, Louisiana, was mentioned by the Society as an example of what was being done. **Annual Report**, 1864, p. 14f. When that church, manned by its own members, would not surrender the property, a military order was secured and forcible possession taken, and the regular mem-

- bership was scattered. See Southern Baptist Convention, *Proceedings*, 1866, pp. 48-51.
22. *Examiner and Chronicle*, New York, January, 1866, found in **Benjamin Hill's Scrapbook**.
 23. *Ibid*, February, 1866, found in **Benjamin Hill's Scrapbook**.
 24. Home Mission Society, *Annual Report*, 1865, p. 29.
 25. Southern Baptist Convention, *Proceedings*, 1867, p. 79.
 26. *Ibid*, 1868, pp. 17-18.
 27. *Ibid*, 1868, p. 20f.
 28. *Ibid*, 1868, p. 20f.
 29. H. L. Morehouse, ed., *Baptist Home Missions*, p. 426.
 30. *Ibid*, p. 427f.
 31. *Home Mission Monthly*, XVI, 406ff.
 32. Home Mission Society, *Annual Report*, 1869, p. 55.
 33. Southern Baptist Convention, *Proceedings*, 1870, p. 20f.
 34. *Ibid*, 1870, p. 36. See also pp. 19f and 21.
 35. Home Mission Society, *Annual Report*, 1868, p. 21f.
 36. *Ibid*, 1868, p. 21f.
 37. *Ibid*, 1868, p. 21f.
 38. Appleton's *Cyclopaedia*, 1869, p. 63.
 39. Home Mission Society, *Annual Report*, 1870, p. 27.
 40. Appleton's *Cyclopaedia*, 1871, p. 66. See also Home Mission Society, *Annual Report*, 1871, p. 21.
 41. See Southern Baptist Convention, *Proceedings*, 1870, p. 13f.
 42. *Ibid*, 1867, p. 49.
 43. *Ibid*, 1867, p. 51.
 44. See Appleton's *Cyclopaedia*, 1868, p. 66.
 45. Southern Baptist Convention, *Proceedings*, 1885, p. 41.
 46. In a survey of this first decade after the Society returned to the South, it is difficult to distinguish between the fields of evangelism and education. For the purpose of this study a distinction was made between the appointment of a person as missionary and one employed as a teacher. The following charts of this chapter are based upon the activities of the missionaries. It is true that the teachers in the various schools and the negro ministerial students were greatly effective in evangelistic work in the schools and the surrounding areas. However, that activity should be viewed in connection with the educational program of the Society, which will be discussed in the following chapter. Note the article in the *National Baptist*, Philadelphia, May 25, 1882, which praises the schools—both faculty and student body—for their missionary work. In one year, for example, there were 260 conversions among the students of the fifteen negro schools where 403 ministerial students were in attendance. Home Mission Society, *Annual Report*, 1884, p. 60.
 47. Appleton's *Cyclopaedia*, 1865, p. 106f; 1866, p. 57.
 48. *Ibid*, 1865, p. 105; 1866, p. 57; 1867, p. 86f.
 49. *Ibid*, 1868, p. 66.

50. **Ibid**, 1869, p. 63.
51. **Ibid**, 1870, p. 62.
52. **Ibid**, 1871, p. 66.
53. See the **National Baptist**, May 29, 1873.
54. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1879, p. 33f.
55. **Ibid**, 1872, p. 21.
56. **Ibid**, 1873, p. 34.
57. **Ibid**, 1874, p. 15.
58. **Ibid**, 1874, p. 20.
59. **Ibid**, 1874, p. 28.
60. **Ibid**, 1874, p. 28.
61. **Home Mission Monthly**, I, 87-79.
62. This will be discussed in detail in a later chapter.
63. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1876, p. 10.
64. Home Misison Society, **Board Minutes**, September 12, 1881.
65. Tennessee Baptist State Convention, **Minutes**, 1881, p. 16.
66. H. L. Morehouse, ed., **Baptist Home Missions**, p. 286f.
67. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1875, p. 72.
68. **Home Mission Monthly**, I, 79.
69. **Ibid**, 1V, 274-75. This was a reprint from the **American Baptist Reflector**, August 23, 1882.
70. This story will be related in detail in chapter xi.

CHAPTER VII

1. Indian missions were transferred to the Society in 1865. The charts will include this aspect of the work also.
2. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1853, p. 8.
3. **Ibid**, 1862, p. 50.
4. **Ibid**, 1892, p. 92; also 1865, p. 92.
5. **Home Mission Monthly**, I, 226f.
6. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1869, p. 12.
7. Appleton's **Cyclopaedia**, 1870, p. 62.
8. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1871, p. 21f.
9. See H. L. Morehouse, ed., **Baptist Home Missions**, p. 412.
10. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1872, p. 23.
11. **Ibid**, 1872, p. 35f.
12. **Ibid**, 1875, p. 38.
13. **Ibid**, 1875, p. 38.
14. **Ibid**, 1875, p. 38.
14. **Ibid**, 1874, p. 36.
15. One such student attended the school in Atlanta in 1872, while two were reported in the following year. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1873, p. 25; 1874, pp. 73-74.
16. Contributions were reported specifically from Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, and Virginia. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1873, p. 35f; 1880, p. 41.
17. **Ibid**, 1877, p. 18. Principal Charles H. Corey of the Richmond Institute spoke of the "deep and abiding

- interest" of Southern leaders. He called by name half a dozen Virginia leaders who had "cheerfully lectured to our students, and contributed in various ways" to the school. *Ibid*, 1875, p. 43.
18. *Ibid*, 1875, p. 43.
 19. The **National Baptist**, Philadelphia, May 27, 1873.
 20. Appleton's **Cyclopaedia**, 1875, p. 67.
 21. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1876, p. 48.
 22. *Ibid*, 1877, p. 58.
 23. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1875, p. 12.
 24. *Ibid*, 1878, p. 19.
 25. **Home Mission Monthly**, I, 60.
 26. *Ibid*, I, 29.
 27. *Ibid*, 1878, I, 87.
 28. *Ibid*, 1878, I, 87-89.
 29. *Ibid*, 1878, I, 87.
 30. Home Mission Society. **Annual Report**, 1878, p. 19.
 31. During an address Marston remarked that slavery had been a blessing as well as a curse to the colored race. Four millions of them, he said, had been brought to America, so that indirectly slavery had been the means "of Christianizing more heathen, than American missions." After an interruption Marston recounted the fine co-operation that he had received from men in the highest positions of responsibility among Southern Baptists. At the first institute in Marion, Alabama, for example, E. T. Winkler, resident pastor and editor of the **Alabama Baptist**, Corresponding Secretary T. M. Bailey of the Alabama Baptist State Convention, and other able brethren "cheerfully shared" the labors. Their lectures, Marston said, "were models of excellence, and their methods of presenting truth to the minds of the colored ministers were clear and forcible, showing how well they had learned by years of experience to reach the minds of the people. It was to them no new thing." He went on to say that "so far as my observation has extended, there is no antagonism at the South between the Christian white man and the Christian black man." The colored Baptists preferred to have their own church organizations, but were eager to receive instruction from their white brethren. "I have seen no more spirit of caste between whites and blacks at the South," Marston said in closing, "than I have seen North between rich and and poor." The meeting was greatly disrupted by this address. The commotion continued on the following day. Finally R. S. McArthur, pastor in New York City and one of the Society's most influential leaders, offered a resolution that the Society disclaim all responsibility for the statement about American slavery being responsible for Christianizing more heathen than American missions and the assertion of Marston that he "had seen no more spirit of caste in the South between whites and blacks, than he had

seen North between rich and poor." After some warm language had been used, Marston said that he meant that God had over-ruled the cruel and inhuman institution of slavery as a means to promote Christian salvation among the Africans. McArthur then withdrew his resolution. The **National Baptist**, June 5, 1879.

32. See, for example, **Home Mission Monthly**, I, 119, 170, and 231; and Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1880, p. 37.
33. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1880, p. 37.
34. **Ibid**, 1881, p. 54.
35. **Ibid**, 1887 p. 32. Also **ibid**, 1888, p. 24. which remarks that "if the Baptist denomination throughout this country is united upon any one belief, it is in the efficacy of Christian education for the elevation of the colored race."
36. Appleton's **Cyclopaedia**, 1895, p. 79.
37. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1895, p. 109.
38. **Ibid**, 1895, p. 109.
39. **Ibid**, 1895, p. 139.
40. **Ibid**, 1895, p. 139f.
41. **Ibid**, 1892, p. 96.
42. **Ibid**, 1895, p. 142f.
43. **Ibid**, 1895, p. 109.

CHAPTER VIII

1. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1853, p. 8.
2. **Ibid**, 1854, p. 24.
3. H. L. Morehouse, ed., **Baptist Home Missions**, p. 375.
4. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1875, p. 25.
5. H. L. Morehouse, ed., **Baptist Home Missions**, p. 377.
6. **Ibid**, p. 377.
7. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1881, p. 59f.
This last provision is significant since a great number of Southern white churches were beneficiaries of the fund and must have made annual contributions to the Society.
8. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1884, p. vii of Appendix A.

CHAPTER XI

1. See pp. 31ff.
2. H. L. Morehouse, ed., **Baptist Home Missions**, p. 359.
3. **Ibid**, p. 359.
4. **Ibid**, p. 359.
5. **Home Mission Monthly**, IV, 274-5. Also see **ibid**, VII, 12-13, for article relative to Texas.
6. At this time several Baptist general organizations flourished in Texas. In addition to the State Convention, there were the General Association, the North

- Texas Convention, the East Texas Convention, and the Central Texas Convention. The North Texas Convention merged with the State Convention in 1883; a general consolidation united the State Convention and the remainder of the bodies into one convention in 1886.
7. Home Mission Society, **Board Minutes**, September 12, 1881.
 8. **Ibid**, September 12, 1881.
 9. H. L. Morehouse, ed., **Baptist Home Missions**, p. 363.
 10. J. M. Carroll, **A History of Texas Baptists**, p. 578.
 11. **Ibid**, p. 574.
 12. **Home Mission Monthly**, VII, 12-13.
 13. See article in **National Baptists**, May 19, 1881, which tells how Pope bargained with the Southern Convention about the appointment of a missionary by asserting that he had a telegram from the Society offering to make the appointment if the Convention refused.
 14. J. M. Carroll, **A History of Texas Baptists**, pp. 575-76.
 15. **Ibid**, p. 576.
 16. **Ibid**, pp. 578-79.
 17. The Society continued to assist in missions among the Germans. See Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1886, p. ix in Appendix A.
 18. Home Mission Society, **Board Minutes**, December 13, 1880.
 19. **Ibid**, March 13, 1882.
 20. **Ibid**, June 12, 1882.
 21. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1883, p. v of Appendix B.
 22. W. W. Barnes, **History of Southern Baptist Convention** (manuscript), chap. v.
 23. Home Missions Society, **Board Minutes**, July 29, 1878.
 24. **Ibid**, July 14, 1879, and February 13, 1882.
 25. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1883, p. v of Appendix B.
 26. See pp. 125ff.
 27. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1881, p. 54.
 28. **Ibid**, 1881, p. 54.
 29. **Ibid**, 1873, pp. 35-6, for example.
 30. **Ibid**, 1873, p. 35f.
 31. **Ibid**, 1874, p. 36.
 32. **Ibid**, 1895, pp. 112-18.
 33. **Home Mission Monthly**, VI, 102. But Morehouse was mistaken about its discontinuance. See Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1885, p. vii of Appendix A.
 34. Tennessee Baptist Convention, **Minutes**, 1881, p. 14f.
 35. An effort will be made in each case to state in simple terms what in reality are complex antecedents.
 36. Appleton's **Cyclopaedia**, 1865, p. 106.
 37. **Home Mission Monthly**, XI, 34.
 38. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1888, p. 85f.
 39. **Home Mission Monthly**, XI, 34f.
 40. **Ibid**, XI, 34f.

41. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1889, p. 37 and p. xlviii in Appendix B.
42. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1889, p. 20.
43. **Ibid**, 1889, p. 20.
44. **Ibid**, 1890, p. 23.
45. **Ibid**, 1890, p. 23f.
46. **Home Mission Monthly**, XII, 356-57.
47. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1876, p. 10.
48. William C. Carleton, **Not Yours But You—The Life of Joseph Samuel Murrow** (unpublished doctoral thesis submitted in May, 1945, at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas), p. 88f.
49. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1876, p. 10.
50. W. C. Carleton, **Life of Murrow**, p. 135f, contains a letter of June 18, 1891, by I. T. Tichenor which sets forth the charge against Murrow.
51. **Home Mission Monthly**, XIII, 7-8.
52. See Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1892, p. xi of Appendix A.

CHAPTER X

1. Johnson had helped organize the General Convention in 1814, served on the committee to propose its constitution, and later became its president. He also filled these three places in the case of the Southern Baptist Convention.
2. Compilation of Edgefield County (South Carolina) Historical Society, **Dr. William Bullein Johnson and the Organization of the Southern Baptist Convention**, p. 12.
3. See the **National Baptist**, June 3, 1880, when a committee frowned on such rivalry.
4. See Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1846, p. 17.
5. It did not hesitate to begin work in California in the 1850's.
6. The following resume is from W. W. Barnes, "Why The Southern Baptist Convention Was Formed," in the **Review and Expositor**, January, 1944, pp. 1-17.
7. Paul L. Ford, **Writings of Thomas Jefferson**, X, 37f. See also John S. Bassett, **A Short History of the United States**, p. 474.
8. See Jesse T. Carpenter, **The South as a Conscious Minority**, *passim*.
9. In 1847, it was necessary to send mail to missionaries of the Society in Oregon by way of Honolulu. H. L. Morehouse, ed., **Baptist Home Missions**, p. 338. The **Religious Herald** of August 13, 1847, mentioned that to send a package of books from Richmond, Va. to Charleston, S. C., it must first be sent to Baltimore, Maryland; and to send a bookcase from Tuscaloosa, Ala. to Penfield, Ga., it was necessary to send it to Mobile, Ala., thence to New York, back to Savannah,

- Ga., and to Penfield by way of Augusta or Atlanta, Ga.
10. See Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1874, p. 28.
11. See W. W. Barnes, "Why The Southern Baptist Convention Was Formed," in the **Review and Expositor**, January, 1944, pp. 11-16.

CHAPTER XI

1. **Home Mission Monthly**, 1884, VI, 225.
2. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1875, p. 25.
3. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1867, p. 79.
4. **Ibid**, 1868, p. 21.
5. H. L. Morehouse, ed., **Baptist Home Missions**, p. 426.
6. **Ibid**, p. 426.
7. **Ibid**, p. 427.
8. **Home Mission Monthly**, XVI, 406.
9. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1869, p. 55.
10. The struggles of the Southern Baptist Convention over this issue were especially prolonged in 1868, 1869, 1870, and 1879.
11. H. L. Morehouse, ed., **Baptist Home Missions**, p. 286.
12. See pp. 139ff.
13. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1874, p. 20.
14. **Home Mission Monthly**, I, 79.
15. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1873, p. 25; 1874, p. 73; and Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1873, p. 35; 1880, p. 41.
16. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1886, p. 65.
17. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1881, pp. 25-26.
18. **Ibid**, 1892, p. xi of Appendix A.
19. See, for example, **ibid**, 1874, p. 68.
20. **Ibid**, 1879, p. 14. The error was not corrected until 1895. Compare **ibid**, 1895, p. 41.
21. **Ibid**, 1892, p. xi of Appendix A.
22. **Ibid**, 1892, p. xi of Appendix A.
23. Tennessee Baptist Convention, **Minutes**, 1881, p. 14f.
24. In 1882, the Society had fifteen missionaries there.
25. Reprinted in **Home Mission Monthly**, IV, 274-5.
26. **Ibid**, IV, 297.
27. **Ibid**, VI, 225.
28. **Ibid**, VII, 12-13.
29. **Ibid**, IX, 30.
30. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1889, p. 20.
31. **Ibid**, 1890, p. 23.
32. **Home Mission Monthly**, XIII, 7-8.
33. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1892, p. xi of Appendix A.
34. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1882, p. 67f.
35. **Ibid**, 1882, p. 70.
36. **Ibid**, 1882, p. 56.
37. **Ibid**, 1888, p. 85f.
38. **Home Mission Monthly**, VI, 225.
39. **Ibid**, VI, 224f.

40. **Ibid**, XIII, 142.
41. Texas co-operated with both from 1883 to 1885.
42. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1871, p. 17.
43. **The National Baptist**, May 19, 1881.

CHAPTER XII

1. The revision is discussed in excellent fashion in A. L. Vail, **Baptists Mobilized**, pp. 28-45.
2. See Lawrenceville Baptist Association (Atlanta, Georgia), **Minute**, 1863, p. 6, lamenting the death of a Licentiate from a wound at Fredericksburg, which said: "Brother Davis was a warm defender of the cause of Christ, and also a strong defender of Southern rights."
3. Appleton's **Cyclopaedia**, 1865, p. 106.
4. This conception roots in the convention idea; apparently the society method of breaking down such a large organization was not even considered.
5. In a private letter to R. E. Pattison on June 1, 1848, John M. Peck complained that editors of newspapers "have been the cause, more than all other men, of the divisions between North and South." See **Reply To Sketch of Western Baptist Theological Institute**, p. 33.
6. **Examiner and Chronicle**, January 5, 1871. Also **Religious Herald**, June 29 and July 6, 1871. In **Benjamin Hill's Scrapbook**. This controversy admittedly began through a misunderstanding, but it continued long and caused much resentment on both sides.
7. See **Journal and Messenger**, Cincinnati, Ohio, October 18, 1876. In **Benjamin Hills' Scrapbook**. Also notice **Home Mission Monthly**, XI, 295f, for controversy over an affair at Baxley, Georgia; **ibid**, XI, 45, discussing the subject "False Thinking in the South," which had been suggested by an article of the **New York World**, October 7, 1890; **Home Mission Monthly**, XIII, 142-3, on the "subordinate place" of the freedman; **ibid**, XIII, 245-6, on how much the South was doing for the freedman compared with the North; **ibid**, XIV, 151, on subordination of the freedman; **ibid**, XV, 239-40, on the ejection of two freedmen from the Southern Baptist Convention when they refused to occupy seats set apart for them. Note especially the long articles by H. L. Morehouse in **Home Mission Monthly**, XVI, 81-102, on life in the South. These articles by Morehouse began a controversy that involved half a dozen Southern newspapers and continued a year.
8. For a brief resume of this controversy and the conclusion, see Appleton's **Cyclopaedia**, 1895, p. 79.
9. **National Baptist**, June 6, 1872.
10. **Home Mission Monthly**, VI, 136.
11. **Ibid**, IV, 274-5, VI, 224-26; VI, 276f; VII, 12-13 and 82. In this controversy, many Northern and Southern

- Baptist newspapers were quoted on each side.
12. **Ibid**, III, 35-6; III, 81.
 13. **Ibid**, VIII, 304-7; VIII, 82.
 14. **Western Recorder**, September 13, 1873.
 15. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1867, p. 79. and 1868, p. 20f.
 16. **Ibid**, 1879, p. 14. Compare also **ibid**, 1895, p. 41.
 17. **Home Mission Monthly**, XIII, 142.
 18. **Ibid**, XVI, 404-5.
 19. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1894, p. 7, and 1895, p. 21f.
 20. Every vote was unanimous except one—who should preside over the joint meeting. "The Northern brethren voted unanimously for a Southern brother to preside, while the Southern brethren voted unanimously for a Northern brother to preside." Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1895, p. 14.
 21. Home Mission Society, **Board Minutes**, September 12, 1894. See also Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1895, p. 21f, and Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1895, p. 15f.
 22. **Home Mission Monthly**, XVI, 407f.
 23. See Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1895, p. 42f.

CHAPTER XIII

1. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1895, *passim*.
2. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1901, pp. 143ff.
3. **Ibid**, 1902, pp. 160-1.
4. See **National Baptist**, June 6, 1872.
5. The foregoing resume comes from **Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention**, 1907-8, pp. 7-14.
6. **Ibid**, p. 4.
7. **Ibid**, 1909, pp. 102-115.
8. **Ibid**, 1909, pp. 102-115.
9. **Ibid**, 1907-8, pp. 4, 5.
10. In June, 1947, this society had 130 missionaries in India, Japan, Belgian Congo, China, Brazil, Argentina, Portugal, French West Africa, Albania, and Italy. See **Conservative Baptist Foreign Mission Society News and Views**, June, 1947, p. 2.
11. **Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention**, 1944, pp. 243-44.
12. **Ibid**, 1945, pp. 48-52.
13. Southern Baptist Convention **Proceedings**, 1916, pp. 55-56.
14. **Ibid**, 1909, pp. 206-07.
15. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1909, p. 7.
16. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1912, pp. 46ff.
17. **Ibid**, 1944, pp. 50-53.

CHAPTER XIV

1. See pages 40ff for reasons why missionaries of the Society preferred to serve in this area and not throughout the South.
2. Early in 1873 W. A. Jarrell of Quincy, Illinois, decried the fact that many Southern Baptists were looking askance at Northern Baptists for the practice of alien immersion and open communion. Jarrell remarked that many southern churches were doing this, as well as holding other strange doctrines worse than these. See **Western Recorder**, September 13, 1873.
3. Clarence Hodge, **W. P. Throgmorton, D. D.**, pp. 85-86.
4. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1944, pp. 50-3.
5. **Ibid**, 1894, p. 22.
6. **Ibid**, 1895, p. 16.
7. Laymen in New Mexico, **The New Mexico Baptist Situation**, May, 1912, p. 4.
8. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1910, pp. 55-6.
9. **Ibid**, 1909, pp. 206-7.
10. **Ibid**, 1909, pp. 31-32.
11. **Ibid**, 1910, pp. 55-6.
12. **Ibid**, 1909, pp. 206-7.
13. **Ibid**, 1911, pp. 238-9.
14. **Ibid**, 1912, pp. 46ff.
15. **Ibid**, 1912, pp. 46ff.
16. Clarence L. White, **A Century of Faith**, p. 267.
17. Resume from **Minute**, Missouri Baptist General Association, 1914, pp. 90ff and 118-19.

CHAPTER XV

1. Tension also exists in Illinois as a result of the extension of activity by the State Association, but since that has been described briefly in the previous chapter it will not be discussed here.
2. Arizona Baptist Convention **Minutes**, 1917, p. 20.
3. **Ibid**, 1926, p. 17. This might recall the refusal of of the General Association in Illinois to take action against some of their liberals, thus precipitating the organization of a new general body.
4. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1929, p. 17.
5. **Ibid**, 1925, p. 93.
6. **Ibid**, 1930, p. 303.
7. **Ibid**, 1933, pp. 52-3.
8. Northern California Baptist Convention **Annual**, 1921, p. 12ff.
9. The Golden Gate Baptist Church of Oakland is the only church which was organized as a Northern church and later directly changed its affiliation to the Southern group.

10. See **The California Southern Baptist**, Bakersfield, California, May, 1943.
11. Southern Baptist General Convention of California, **Proceedings**, 1941, p. 4—Article ix, Section 2.
12. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1942, p. 50.
13. **Ibid**, 1944, p. 50ff and p. 128.
14. Resume from J. C. Baker, **Baptist History of the North Pacific Coast**, p. 1ff.
15. Home Mission Society, **Annual Report**, 1894, p. 33.
16. Home Mission Society, **Executive Board Minutes**, Vol. XIII, April, 1894, pp. 107-20.
17. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1894, p. 27.
18. Trinity Baptist Church, Vancouver, Washington, for example, had sent funds through the New Mexico convention.
19. Each year the general field worker is allowed one month on his own time for conducting revival meetings wherever he might choose. During this time the Home Mission Board is not responsible for his expenses or honorarium. It was in this capacity that he conducted meetings in these churches.
20. The dissolution of the incorporated body could not be consummated immediately due to certain legal contracts and property holdings, so the Fellowship and the new Association functioned jointly until October, 1947, when the dissolution was officially completed.
21. Resume from Charles L. White, **A Century of Faith**, p. 96ff.
22. The Alaskan churches, for the most part, have relations not only with this general body but also with outside bodies. The Baptist General Convention of New Mexico, in co-operation with the Alaska Baptist Convention, is supporting the work of B. I. Carpenter in Ketchikan, and the Ketchikan mission is an arm of the First Baptist Church of Albuquerque, New Mexico, and receives its members in that way. The Juneau church has been dependent upon the Antioch Baptist Church of Detroit, Michigan, (a Southern Baptist church affiliated through a Kentucky Association) for the support of its pastor. However, recently A. A. Brian, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Brownfield (Texas) Association has announced that his church, with co-operation from the Alaska Baptist Convention, is assuming responsibility for the work in Juneau, and that arrangements are being made to send a missionary to the Juneau church. The church in Fairbanks, begun as a mission under the leadership of C. O. Dunkin and wife, was an arm of the First Baptist Church of Lafayette, Louisiana, until the Dunkins were forced to return to the states. The church then affiliated with the Brownfield Association of Texas. When the Dunkins later returned to Fairbanks they began a native mission among the

Eskimos, and this mission became an arm of the Lafayette church. The Government Hill Mission in Anchorage was a mission of the First Baptist Church of Anchorage until it was organized into a church. These details and others relating to work in the West and Northwest taken from personal letter of Field Worker Fred A. McCaulley, Home Mission Board, dated April 24, 1948.

23. Taken from **The California Southern Baptist**, Fresno, California, April 22, 1948, p. 5.

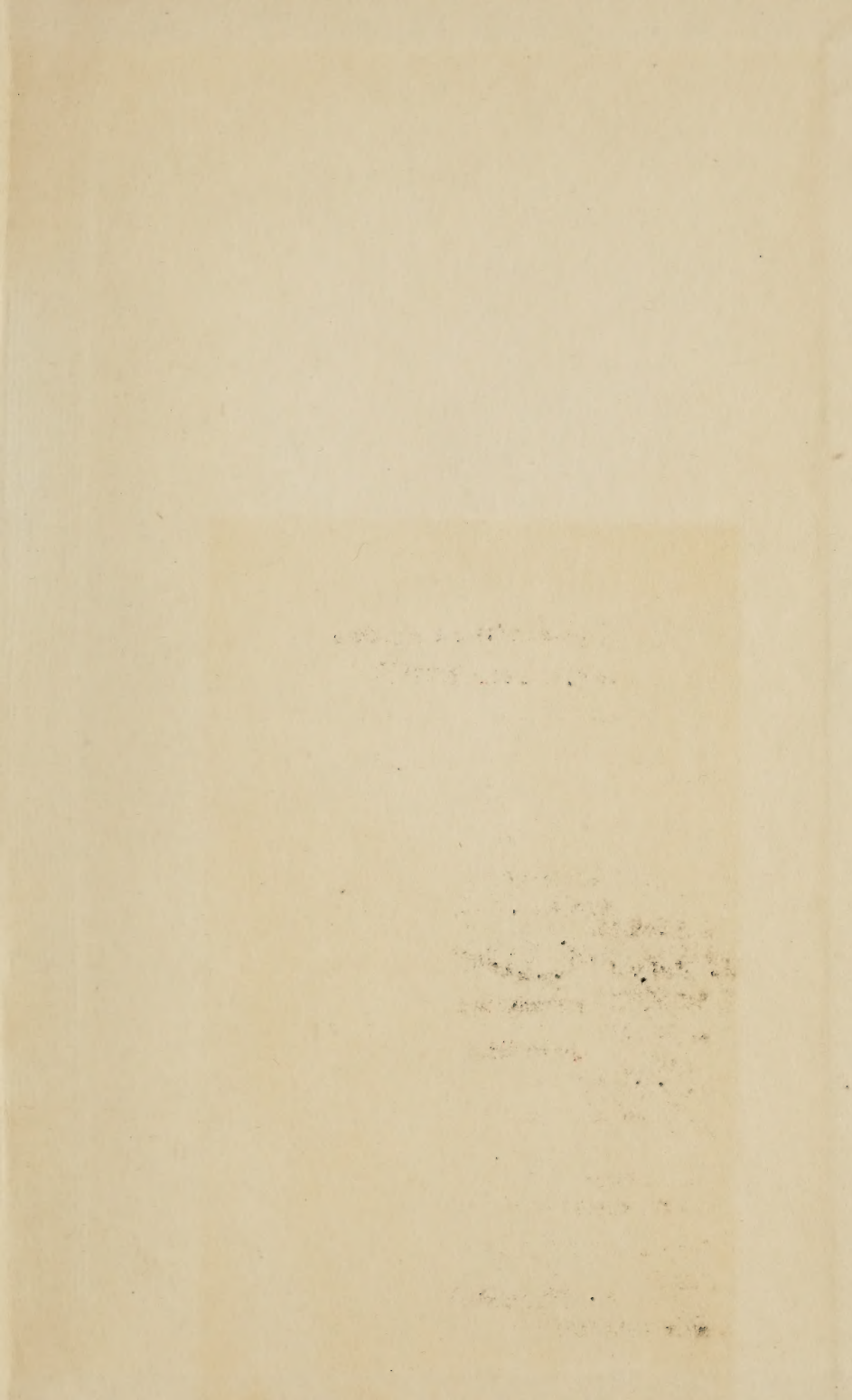
CHAPTER XVI

1. Some writers have suggested that the Society was forced to leave states like Texas because of the aggressive program of the Southern Baptist Convention. This is not correct. As a matter of fact, the Society itself addressed a letter to the Baptist State Convention of Texas in 1885 asking if it would be possible for that body to carry on the mission program in Texas without the aid of the Society. See Minutes, Baptist State Convention of Texas, 1885, p. 62. The Society's withdrawal from Oklahoma followed this general pattern; the Society itself was the moving factor in the decision. In Missouri the Society is still free to co-operate with such churches as desire to do so.
2. **Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention**, 1922, pp. 129ff.
3. **Ibid**, 1926, p. 8.
4. **Ibid**, 1946, p. 97.
5. It is a mistake to identify doctrinal liberalism with all Northern Baptist Convention churches. Such a generalization is unwarranted.
6. **Home Mission Monthly**, XVI, 408.
7. The Society repudiated this statement, asserting that the Fortress Monroe agreement was still binding.
8. One of the members at Fortress Monroe would never have agreed to this. That was J. B. Gambrell. See his amendment to the Washington agreement. Southern Baptist Convention, **Proceedings**, 1909, pp. 31-32, and 1910, pp. 230-31. The North agreed to this principle in the comity agreement of 1912.
9. In **Biblical Recorder**, Raleigh, North Carolina, May 5, 1948.
10. See **Home Mission Monthly**, VI, 225. He quoted the words of the Executive Board of 1866: "The work must not be stopped by state lines, nor sectional hatreds, nor complexion of man, until the glad tidings of the Gospel, in all its fulness of doctrine, shall have been proclaimed throughout the land." See also **ibid**, IV, 297, in which he said that the Society was working in the South "by right which is derived from the law of love that requires the strong to respond to the

- calls of the needy"
11. See article entitled, "Three Fourths of A Loaf," in **The Chronicle**, April, 1948, for the frank statement by a Northern Baptist that some of their churches will refuse the merger.
 12. See A. T. Foss and E. Mathews, **Facts**, pp. 114-24. There was no intention of dividing on a geographical basis. In 1846, for example, the Spruce Street Baptist Church, Philadelphia, sent a messenger to the Southern convention, and he was regularly seated. There are other such examples.
 13. This was the pattern that united American Methodism.

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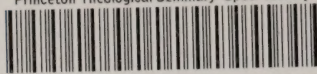
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